APRIL 9, 2018

TIME

'NOBODY'S ABOVE THE LAW'

THE TRIALS OF JEFF SESSIONS

BY MOLLY BALL

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE YOUNG AND THE RELENTLESS Readers of all ages were moved by Charlotte Alter's April 2 cover story on how a group of students organized for stronger gun-control laws after the shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School.

Calvin Mauldin, 15, of Jacksonville, Fla., said it was "refreshing" to see people from his generation, who can be "concerned with stupid stuff like their social media," rally around an important issue. And Niel Spillane, 94, in Mystic, Conn., expressed the hope that young people who aren't yet "hung up by ideologies" would continue to press adults for change. As a grandparent, he added, when "kids come at you, you listen."

'Thank God for these amazing, articulate young people. They're showing us the way!!'

SARA B. GOVERNALE, Mount Vernon, Wash.

But readers like Charles Batteau of Glen Allen, Va., felt it was a mistake to concentrate on the student organizers without giving the same coverage to young people who oppose tougher gun-control laws. And instead of focusing on guns, he said, it could be helpful to "see what has changed in our culture that makes any kind of violence more acceptable to some people."

'These young people have no real understanding of what they are asking for.'

JAMES LANGILLE, Corpus Christi, Texas

The story was about more than gun control to Maggie Manchester, 67, of Mesa, Ariz., who marched on the Pentagon in 1967 as a high school senior and more recently in a March for Our Lives demonstration in Phoenix. "I just hope to see the altruism once sought by us baby boomers realized by these courageous kids," she wrote. "More power to them."

REMEMBERING THE LAST MALE NORTHERN WHITE RHINO
TIME.com offers an exclusive look, from *National Geographic* photographer Ami Vitale, at what it was like to be there when the 45-year-old rhino died on March 19. "He leaned his heavy head into mine and the skies opened up just as they had when he arrived here nine years ago," she writes. Read her tribute at **time.com/rhino-photos**

How private is your data?

TIME Labs has designed an interactive Internet-privacy report card to help you assess the state of your digital data. Answer eight questions to see what certain tech giants collect about you while you're browsing the Internet, and then read up on easy tips—such as the ones below—to improve your score. Take the quiz at **time.com/data-quiz**

Do you know which third-party apps have access to your Facebook data?

Visit your Facebook app settings to see if you've granted access to any third-party apps, and opt out if you choose to.

If you use Google to search, do you regularly delete your search history?

Google stores your history to tailor ads to your likes. You can delete that history or prevent Google from storing future activity.

DOC DEAL
TIME and the indie studio Blumhouse Television have announced a deal to produce two documentaries: *The Walkout,* about student activism after the Parkland, Fla., shooting, and *Enough,* a companion piece looking at the history of mass shootings in the U.S., from Columbine to today.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In For the Record (April 2), we misstated the estimated value of the gold bars that fell out of a Russian plane. It was $156 million.

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For the Record

39%

Increase in global human consumption of antibiotics from 2000 to 2015, according to a new study published in the journal *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*

‘Demonstrators should seek more effective and more lasting reform. They should demand a repeal of the Second Amendment.’

JOHN PAUL STEVENS,
retired U.S. Supreme Court Justice, in a New York *Times* op-ed responding to the March 24 March for Our Lives demonstrations, which called for gun-control reforms

‘I was like, “Turn around, drop ’em.”’

STEPHANIE CLIFFORD,
known in her porn career as Stormy Daniels, claiming in an interview with CBS’s *60 Minutes* that in 2006 she spanked President Trump with a magazine that had his face on the cover

‘THEY ARE AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT MODERN-DAY COLONIALISM LOOKS LIKE.’

CHRISTOPHER WYLIE,
Cambridge Analytica whistle-blower, describing staff members’ involvement in foreign elections, at a U.K. parliamentary hearing

9,009

Distance, in miles, flown during the maiden voyage of a nonstop 17-hour Qantas flight from Perth, Australia, to London’s Heathrow Airport

in•ter•sti•tium

A series of connected, fluid-filled spaces found under skin, the gut and elsewhere in the human body

This previously unknown organ was discovered by a New York University–led team of researchers, whose findings appear in a new study published in Scientific Reports

‘Whether a person portrayed in one of these expressive works is a world-renowned film star—“a living legend”—or a person no one knows, she or he does not own history.’

ANNE EGERTON,
a justice on California’s second District Court of Appeal, tossing out actor Olivia de Havilland’s lawsuit alleging that the creators of the FX docuseries *Feud: Bette and Joan* didn’t have permission to use her name and likeness

Amazon Studios
Cannes says streaming services won’t be eligible for the festival’s top prize, the Palme d’Or

Amazon rain forest
New research suggests that up to a million people lived in a part of the forest thought to have been uninhabited

23

Number of female U.S. Senators, a record high, after the appointment of Cindy Hyde-Smith to replace Mississippi’s Thad Cochran, who is stepping down because of health issues

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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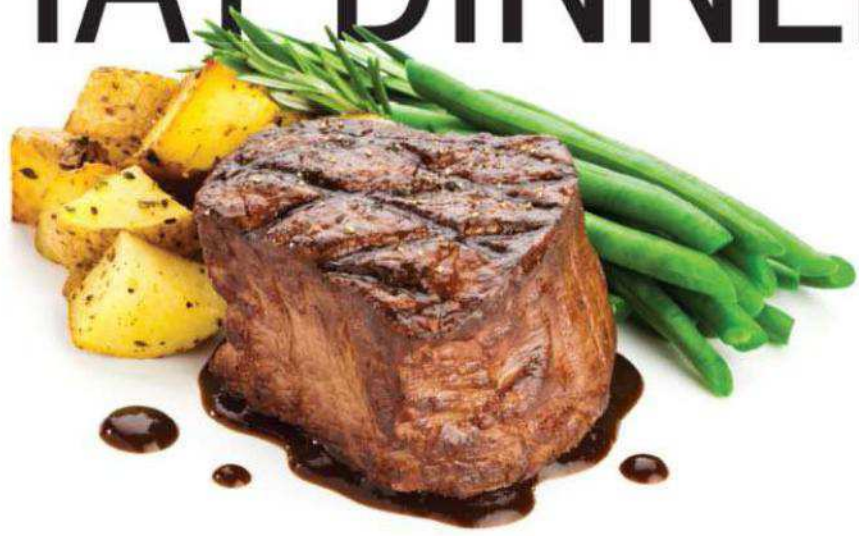

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The Brief

WAR HAWK Bolton, former U.S. ambassador to the U.N., is slated to become Trump's third National Security Adviser in 15 months when he begins April 9

INSIDE

YEMEN MARKS A SAD ANNIVERSARY, AS THE U.N. PREDICTS A WORSENING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

WHY THE FEDS ARE FACING LEGAL CHALLENGES AFTER ADDING A QUESTION TO THE 2020 CENSUS

INTEGRATION PIONEER JAMES MEREDITH ON LINDA BROWN'S LEGACY AND THE IMPACT OF BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

NATIONAL SECURITY

The bomb thrower in the White House

By W.J. Hennigan

AFTER TOILING IN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, JOHN Bolton received a symbolic gift from his colleagues intended to sum up his tenure: a bronze-plated hand grenade. It became a prized possession that Bolton showcased on a coffee table in his Washington office for years afterward. Now the man who relishes his role as a bomb thrower will serve as President Donald Trump's next National Security Adviser, further unsettling a world that both men appear to enjoy keeping off balance.

Bolton's appointment on March 22 registered as the biggest lurch yet in the ongoing White House shake-up, not least for the contrast he offers with the departing H.R. McMaster, the three-star general who was viewed as a steadying influence on Trump. Starting on April 9, Bolton will coordinate U.S. strategy for some of the nation's toughest diplomatic challenges. In May, Trump must decide whether to certify the multilateral deal signed during the Obama Administration under which Iran suspended its nuclear program. By that same month, the President is slated for a historic summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un to discuss the future of that regime's nuclear arsenal.

In op-eds and television appearances, Bolton has been unequivocal in his opinion that both efforts are a waste of time. In fact, he's made the public case to go to war with both nations, while excoriating their leadership. Fears abound in Washington that Trump is surrounding himself with people who will encourage the President's most dangerous impulses. Bolton is an unabashed hawk, whose views largely align with newly nominated Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who awaits congressional confirmation after the March 13 dismissal of Rex Tillerson.

It remains to be seen how Bolton, whose decades-long résumé is defined by a distaste for treaties and contempt for diplomatic niceties—despite serving three times as a diplomat—will mesh with Defense Secretary James Mattis, who like McMaster has been seen as a calming influence on Trump. Mattis, a retired Marine Corps general with firsthand experience of the human costs of war, emphasized the need for international alliances. He displayed his penchant for diplomacy in acknowledging that there may be issues on which he and Bolton disagree.

"I hope that there's some different worldviews. That's the normal thing you want, unless you want groupthink," Mattis told reporters on March 27.

'Taking hard-line stances in op-ed pages is all good and well, but reality begins to set in once you're briefed on military plans.'

Anthony Cordesman

The Iran deal is one point of disagreement. Though no fan of Tehran, Mattis supports the pact, which bars Iran from enriching uranium until at least 2024. Bolton disapproves of the deal, which Trump has promised to decertify in May unless changes are made. "No fix will remedy the diplomatic Waterloo Mr. Obama negotiated," Bolton wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* in January. "Mr. Trump correctly sees Mr. Obama's deal as a massive strategic blunder." In 2015, Bolton argued in the New York *Times* that "only military action" could thwart Iran's nuclear ambitions. "A strike," he wrote, "can still succeed."

If the deal is dropped, Tehran will be free to sprint to create a weapon. Its regional archrival, Saudi Arabia, would respond in kind, its Crown Prince recently said, setting up an arms race in the world's most volatile patch.

THE QUESTION IS whether Bolton, once in the West Wing, will prove as tough as he's talked. "Taking hard-line stances in op-ed pages is all good and well, but reality begins to set in once you're briefed on military plans," says Anthony Cordesman, a former intelligence official at the Pentagon who now works at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Bolton, born in Baltimore and educated at Yale, has worked for every Republican President since Reagan, including a stint as U.S. ambassador to the U.N. under George W. Bush, whom he also served as a lawyer during the Florida recount following the 2000 election. In 2003, just as the so-called six-party talks to discuss dismantling Pyongyang's nuclear-weapons program were set to begin, Bolton delivered a speech denouncing then North Korean leader Kim Jong Il as the "tyrannical dictator" of a country where "life is a hellish nightmare." Pyongyang responded by calling Bolton "human scum" and a "bloodsucker."

Bolton has continued to reiterate his aversion to diplomacy with North Korea. In January, he said that talking with the Hermit Kingdom was a "waste of time." His most recent *Journal* op-ed was headlined, "The Legal Case for Striking North Korea First." Eight days after it appeared, Trump accepted Kim's invitation to meet in person. And 14 days after that, Bolton was named to the position Henry Kissinger first made a nexus of power and influence in the Executive Branch.

McMaster, who plans to retire from the military, will stay on to ensure a smooth transition. And it could well be smoother than widely expected. In an interview with Fox News, where he was a frequent commentator, Bolton said while he never has been shy about what his views are, that's all behind him as he heads to the White House.

"Bolton is very hard-line, but he is smart and thoughtful—not impulsive," says Michael O'Hanlon, a military analyst at the Brookings Institution. "I am worried, but there is some hope." □

PREVIOUS PAGE: JUSTIN LANE—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: TRUMP: PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; YEMEN: MOHAMMED HAMOUD—GETTY IMAGES

Protesters in Yemen rally on the third anniversary of devastating air assaults by a Saudi-led coalition

THE BULLETIN

Yemen enters its fourth year of war—and humanitarian crisis

ON MARCH 25, 2015, SAUDI ARABIA launched airstrikes on Yemen, abruptly escalating a civil war into a regional conflagration. Yemen was already the poorest country on the Arabian Peninsula even before the Saudis intervened, with U.S. support, to halt the military progress of a rebellious tribe that had taken over the capital city, Sana'a. Three years later, the fighting has produced no clear winner and is what the U.N. calls "the worst man-made humanitarian crisis of our time."

HOW IT STARTED The Saudi-led coalition—including the U.S., the UAE and France—sent warplanes to strike targets inside Yemen in support of President Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi's government. Hadi inherited his rocky presidency from the late Ali Abdullah Saleh, a deposed strongman who later attempted to topple his successor by aligning with Houthi insurgents, members of a minority group of Shi'ite Muslims backed by Iran. Hadi had fled Yemen after the rebels overran Sana'a the previous September.

LIFE DISRUPTED War has continued to rage, and U.N.-sponsored peace talks have collapsed. Human-rights groups have decried the Saudi-led coalition's dropping of U.S.-made cluster munitions, including at a funeral in October 2016, while the insurgents' assaults have become increasingly audacious. On the war's recent third anniversary, seven ballistic missiles were fired at Saudi Arabia, with three directed at Riyadh, the capital city. At least one civilian died.

NEW WARNINGS Some 15,000 Yemenis have been killed or injured since fighting began, and millions of those still alive are threatened by famine, acute malnutrition, forced displacement and preventable diseases like cholera. In March, UNICEF warned that a new outbreak of the disease, which affected more than 1 million Yemeni children in 2017, was likely to hit soon unless the world made "a huge and immediate investment" in preventing it—an effort that, as the war enters its fourth year, has yet to begin. —KATE SAMUELSON

NEWS TICKER

Macron: Slain French officer is a hero

A French police officer died after he **switched places with a hostage and was shot by a terrorist during a standoff** at a supermarket in Trèbes, France. President Emmanuel Macron described Lieut. Colonel Arnaud Beltrame as a hero. Four people were killed and 15 injured during the March 23 attack.

Lawsuit sees discrimination on Facebook

Several fair-housing groups sued Facebook on March 27, claiming the social network lets advertisers **exclude groups such as women or those who express interest in disabilities** from seeing certain listings. The suit comes as Facebook faces intense scrutiny over the Cambridge Analytica scandal.

Scores dead in Russian mall fire

A fire at a mall in Kemerovo, Russia, killed at least 64 people and injured more than 10. Officials investigating the fire allegedly found **a number of safety-code violations,** including a malfunctioning fire alarm. President Vladimir Putin blamed the tragedy on "criminal negligence."

NEWS TICKER

Protests continue after a deadly police shooting in Sacramento

Demonstrators in California's capital marched and blocked the entrance to a basketball game to protest the **fatal shooting of an unarmed black man by a police officer.** The family of 22-year-old Stephon Clark has called for criminal charges against the officers involved.

Book praising Hitler pulled by publisher

An Indian children's book that **listed Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler among history's amazing world leaders** was withdrawn by its publisher following widespread criticism. The book, titled *Great Leaders,* pictured Hitler on its cover and also featured biographies of Barack Obama, Nelson Mandela and Gandhi.

Trump boots Veterans Affairs chief

In the wake of a spending scandal, President Trump **replaced VA Secretary David Shulkin,** tweeting on March 28 that the embattled Cabinet member would leave the agency. Trump is nominating White House physician and Navy Admiral Ronny Jackson to take the job.

GOOD QUESTION

Why is California suing the federal government over the Census?

THE U.S. CENSUS HAS BEEN EVOLVING SINCE 1790, but the latest change to the list of questions has some demographics experts, civil rights leaders and Democratic lawmakers worried—so worried that the tweak is already facing several legal challenges.

At issue is the Trump Administration's announcement on March 26 that the 2020 Census will include a question about citizenship status. Critics argue that the question could lead undocumented immigrants to skip the Census entirely. Census data affects everything from how much money an area receives for its highways to how many Representatives a state sends to Congress—and thus how many delegates it receives in the Electoral College. If people opt out, the resulting inaccurate population count could create an uneven distribution of federal funds and, because of the demographics of the respondents in question, tilt the political landscape in favor of Republicans.

In the wake of the announcement, White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders argued that the move is nothing new (in fact, the decennial Census has not included a question about citizenship since 1950, though other census-related surveys have), and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross said the decision came at the request of the Department of Justice, which needs the information to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965. "Secretary Ross determined that obtaining complete and accurate information to meet this legitimate government purpose outweighed the limited potential adverse impacts," the department said in a statement.

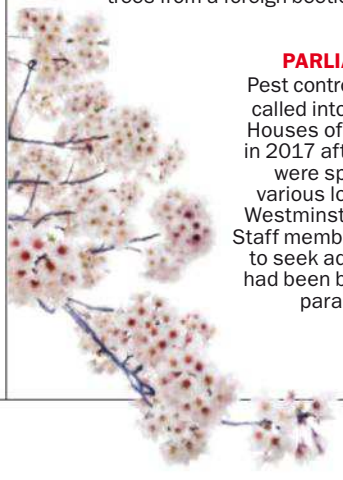
Response to the Administration's decision was swift. Within hours of the announcement, the attorney general of California said he was filing a lawsuit to try to stop the question from being included. Eleven other states are also suing to challenge the decision. Former Attorney General Eric Holder, who now leads the National Democratic Redistricting Committee, said his organization will likewise sue to stop it. Representative Carolyn Maloney, who co-chairs the House Census Caucus, had already introduced a bill that requires that Census changes be tested before implementation. Legislation that specifically addresses the citizenship question had also been introduced in the Senate.

Leaders of immigrant and civil rights groups said they were gearing up for Census difficulties no matter what happens with the suits. They fear the Trump Administration's rhetoric may deter members of under-represented communities from participating in a government survey—even if being counted would ultimately help them. The citizenship question only makes the matter that much more difficult. "Even if the question is removed," said John C. Yang, president and executive director of Asian Americans Advancing Justice, "there will be barriers we will have to get through." —MAYA RHODAN

WILDLIFE

A bug in the system

Japan's iconic cherry-blossom groves are under threat, as government officials fight to save the trees from a foreign-beetle invasion. Here, other landmarks threatened by insects. —*Flora Carr*



PARLIAMENT
Pest control had to be called into the U.K.'s Houses of Parliament in 2017 after bedbugs were spotted at various locations in Westminster, London. Staff members were told to seek advice if they had been bitten by the parasites.

THE TAJ MAHAL
Insect excrement is turning India's Taj Mahal green, experts announced in 2016. The intricate marble work on the 17th century monument must be scrubbed daily for its signature whiteness to be maintained.

ANCIENT FORESTS
Nature lovers flock to Pennsylvania's Cook Forest State Park to see its Forest Cathedral of hemlocks and white pines, but in 2013 conservationists said the trees were under attack by the hemlock woolly adelgid.

DIED
Charles Lazarus, founder of Toys "R" Us, on March 22 at 94. His death came one week after the toy-store chain announced it would end U.S. operations.

KILLED
Mireille Knoll, an 85-year-old Holocaust survivor in Paris, in what officials—amid a rising number of attacks against Jews in France—are calling a hate crime.

FILED
Remington, one of America's oldest gun manufacturers, for bankruptcy. The company had amassed hundreds of millions of dollars in debt as sales fell in recent years.

EXPELLED
More than 100 **Russian diplomats** from the U.S., Canada and a number of European Union countries, in response to Russia's alleged involvement in poisoning one of its former spies.

DETAINED
Catalonia's former separatist president **Carles Puigdemont,** in Germany, under a warrant issued by Spain for charges including rebellion. Dozens were injured during the protests that broke out in reaction to the news.

COMPLAINED
A former **New Orleans Saints cheerleader,** to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. She claimed the NFL team discriminates on the basis of gender, with different rules for male and female employees.

CHERRY BLOSSOMS: GETTY IMAGES; BROWN: CARL IWASAKI—THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

Brown was a third-grader when the landmark desegregation case began

DIED

Linda Brown
At the center of Brown v. Board of Ed

By James Meredith

WHEN I WAS STATIONED AT AN AIR FORCE BASE IN THE TOPEKA, Kans., area, I knew of the Browns—and Linda Brown, who died at 75 on March 25—simply because everybody who was black in Topeka knew everyone else who was black in Topeka. But I only really began to understand what *Brown v. Board of Education* meant when I was a student at Columbia Law School. The dean told me that the reason they were letting the best minds in the black race come was so they would learn that even when you won a constitutional case, you didn't gain anything. With the *Brown* decision in 1954, the court said, "O.K., we'll rule that it's wrong for blacks not to be able to go to white schools, but don't do nothing, keep it like it is, until we give you instructions on how to proceed." And then that instruction was to proceed "with all deliberate speed."

What that meant was *never.*

And it's still *never* today. The *Brown* decision did not deliver what it promised. We don't have desegregation. But I'll tell you what is good: in 1954, we could not use restroom facilities in a public building; we could not go to a restaurant and buy a sandwich. Life is better now.

Meredith, a civil rights activist, was the first African American to attend the University of Mississippi, following a 1962 Supreme Court ruling in his favor

THE CEO REPORT

What is the cost of making a stand?

By Alan Murray

WHEN CEOS SPEAK OUT ON hot-button social issues, how does it affect their companies' stock prices? That's the question *Harvard Business Review* asked recently, creating a compelling interactive graphic on the cost of making a stand.

In some cases—like Merck CEO Ken Frazier's strong rebuke of President Trump's waffling on the Charlottesville riots, for instance—the stock market response was positive and sustained. In others—as when Papa John's CEO John Schnatter criticized how the NFL handled the national-anthem protests—it was clearly negative.

The bottom line, according to the study: "Most companies did not see a sustained rise or drop in stock price following their CEO's public statement" on a controversial issue. Most of the movement, the authors concluded, was associated with "normal economic factors."

No big surprise there. The surge in CEOs' speaking out on social issues isn't aimed at investors—it's aimed mostly at employees. Millennials, in particular—who are less likely to be married, less likely to belong to organized religion and less likely to join outside organizations than previous generations—increasingly look to employers to give their lives purpose, meaning and a moral anchor.

Murray is the president of Fortune

Outgoing Planned Parenthood president **Cecile Richards** still wants to make trouble

By Belinda Luscombe

FOR ONE OF THE MOST VILIFIED WOMEN IN America, Cecile Richards is very warm. She's self-deprecating, lively and attentive to guests. She apologizes for the terrible coffee an assistant brings from the office machine but drinks it anyway. Her mascara is a little smudged over her right eye. She looks down when thinking; it's not effortless for her. She's human.

But until May, when she decamps her post, Richards is also the president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, an organization that provokes only strong feelings in people. Reliable surveys show that most citizens do not believe *Roe v. Wade* should be overturned. Other equally reliable surveys show that most Americans answer no when asked if a woman should be able to get an abortion "for any reason." And almost 20% of voters told Gallup in 2015 they could only vote for a candidate who shared their views on abortion. So Richards has been hailed both as "an extraordinary leader in vertiginous times" (by the editor of the *Nation*) and "the most vile person currently walking this planet" (by a writer for RedState).

In a fractured America, the biggest fault line runs through abortion. In many ways, the rumble over abortion rights was the foreshock for the many ruptures the U.S. is now facing—Black Lives Matter vs. Blue Lives Matter, #MeToo vs. "witch hunt," #enough vs. protecting the Second Amendment, the President is reckless vs. the President is authentic. That means Richards is in the vanguard of leaders who have had to navigate their cause through very hostile terrain.

Her strategy, as recounted in her new memoir-handbook, *Make Trouble,* has always been to push harder into the storm. When she took the reins at Planned Parenthood in 2006, with no background in health care, the organization didn't even have a centralized website. It now does, and much more political heft. President Obama mentioned Planned Parenthood during the 2012 presidential debates. In 2016, it launched a voter-registration drive. It threw its weight behind successfully protecting the Affordable Care Act in 2017.

This newfound influence was not without cost. In 2015, Richards faced five hours of mostly hostile grilling by Congress after some activists released video purporting to show that the organization illegally sold fetal tissue. (Several investigating committees found nothing illegal, and the activists behind the footage later faced felony charges, which are ongoing.)

Planned Parenthood has largely prevailed. The most recent spending bill—passed by a Republican Congress—allocated the group $500 million in taxpayer funding. At the same time, the organization has fewer clinics and affiliates now than when Richards started. This is partly because more women are using long-acting reversible contraceptives (like IUDs) or getting their health needs met online. It's also because the litany of local regulations that states have placed on abortion clinics have forced many to close. For lots of women, it's harder to get an abortion today than it was a decade ago.

At 61, Richards is moving on, though not to something a little less 24/7 or challenging or contested. Where's the fun in that? Her new focus will be to increase and organize the number of women who run for office and who vote. The 2016 election was a personal disappointment—her oldest daughter Lily Adams worked on Hillary Clinton's campaign—but she saw in it a hint of light. "I have a theory that there are a lot of women in this country who are frustrated and maybe some of them expressed it in their votes," she says. "I don't think they're ecstatic about this President. I think a lot of them just feel unheard."

Would she run for office? After all, her mother, Ann Richards, was a 58-year-old divorced Democrat and recovering alcoholic who became governor of Texas in 1991. And Richards, pregnant with twins and bringing along a toddler for the ride, helped run her campaign. "We still go back, Kirk [Adams, her husband, who is also an organizer] and I, and look at the numbers and think how did we do that?" says Richards.

But her real strength, she believes, may be in getting others elected. She knows—and has probably charmed—somebody in every congressional district in the country. "I can't go to a town now that I don't find a little group of women or maybe a bigger-ish group of women that have just started self-organizing," she says. "What if we could actually get all of them to focus on voting? They can march in knit hats and go to town-hall meetings, but if everyone voted, things would change."

THE VERY FIRST TIME Richards was accused of being a troublemaker was when, at age 11, she declined to say the Lord's Prayer at University Park Elementary School in Dallas. The second, she writes, was when she wore a black armband to her Austin middle school to protest the Vietnam War and was sent to the principal's office. He tried to call her mother, who didn't answer, which

RICHARDS QUICK FACTS

Fish food

Richards is a pescatarian but has admitted that if she had to choose her last meal, it would be a chili dog.

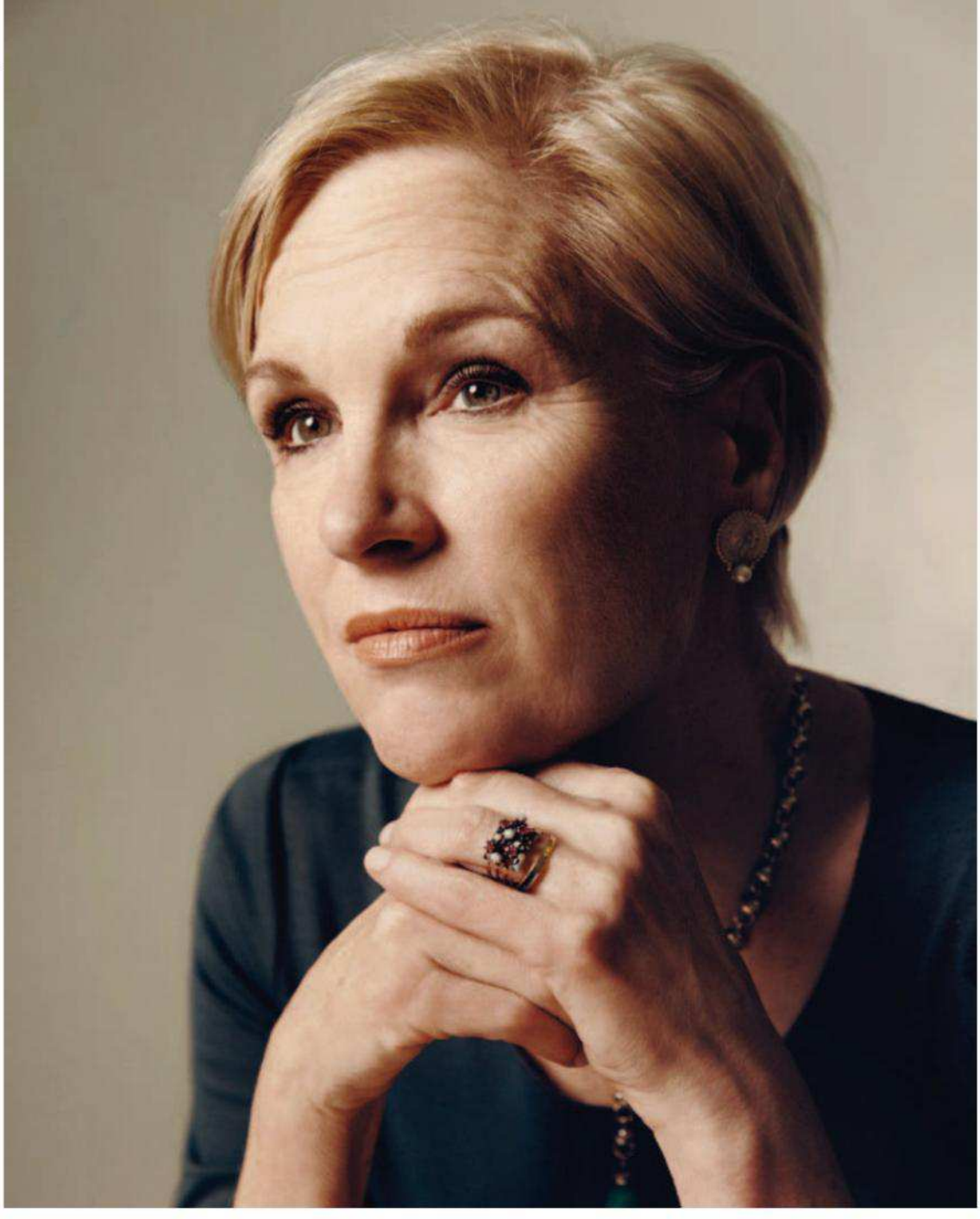
Lucky charm

Whenever she's facing a challenge, she carries with her a sheriff's-badge-shaped pin her mom gave her.

Love on the lam

Her husband says one of the seminal moments of their relationship was when she bailed him out of jail after he was caught driving without a license or insurance.

DAVID URBANKE



Richards calls "one of the luckiest moments in [his] life." The thrill of standing up to authority so exhilarated her that she was set on her path.

Her Texas upbringing and early years in the labor movement have served her well. She's not averse to hobnobbing in elite circles—she was at the Academy Awards this year and has worked for Ted Turner and Jane Fonda's foundation—but she can also find common ground with those who are struggling to make ends meet, which goes some way to neutering any accusations of out-of-touch liberal elitism. She tries to emphasize her down-home roots in the book. Alongside the advice on political organizing, she offers notations on what she was listening to and cooking at the time the events took place. She even offers parenting tips, which can be summarized as: Get the kids to pitch in.

'They can march in knit hats and go to town-hall meetings, but if everyone voted, things would change.'

CECILE RICHARDS

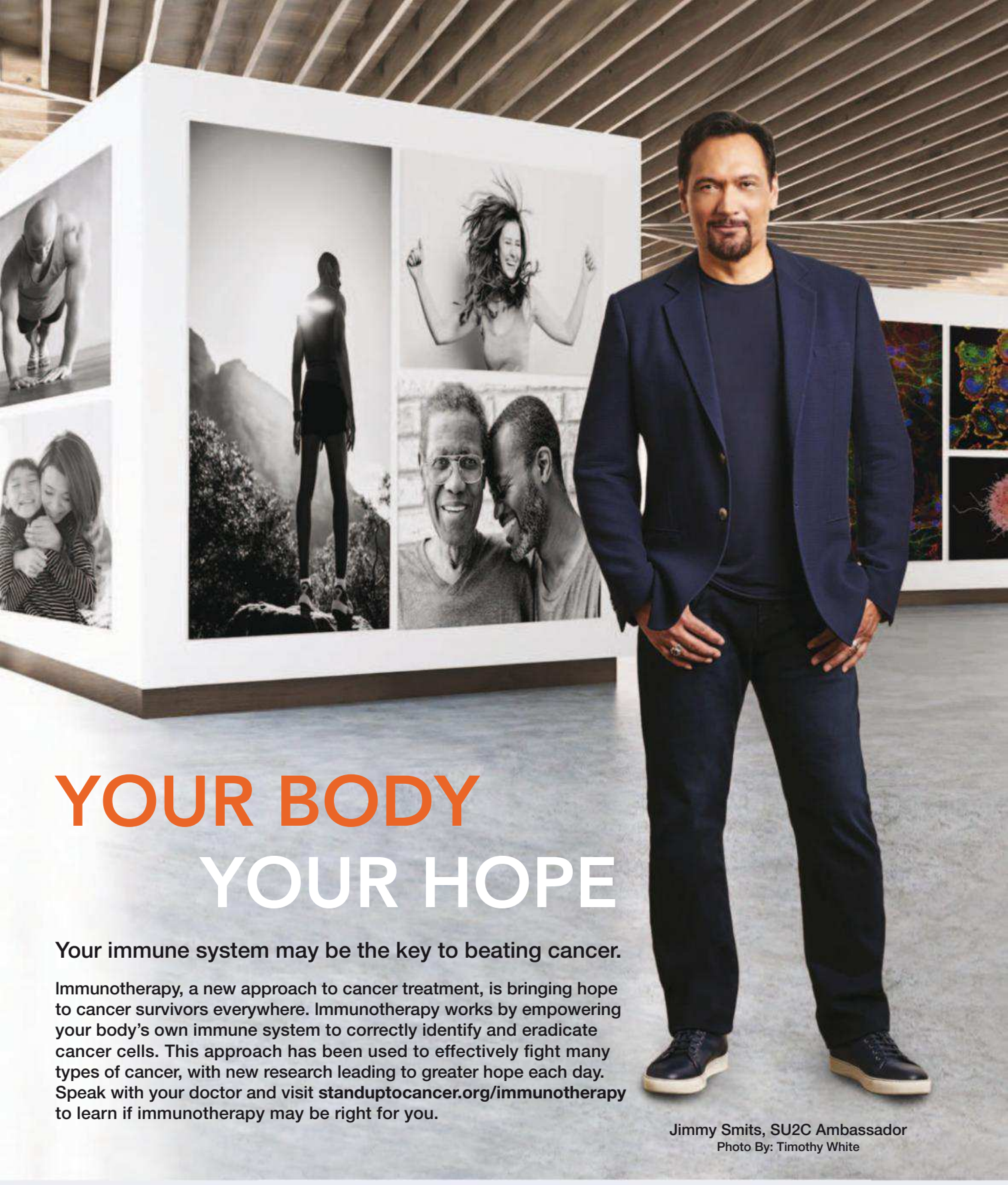
Last year, after the latest attempt to defund her organization had been turned back, Richardson was at a celebration in Nashville. She had just finished thanking the crowd for all its work when an audience member raised his hand and asked what now could be done for the Dreamers, the undocumented children who grew up in the U.S. but are not citizens. "I had assumed that they were going to go, 'This is great because I've got to take a break,'" she says. Instead, people were coming together not over a single issue but because of a set of shared values. They were massing to protect a certain bigger vision of America. "It's different than any time I can remember in my lifetime," says Richards. That's the kind of barometric indicator that no organizer can resist. ◻

A new movement

Demonstrators fill Pennsylvania Avenue for the March for Our Lives rally in Washington on March 24. Across the U.S. and around the globe, hundreds of thousands of protesters joined survivors of the Feb. 14 school shooting in Parkland, Fla., calling for gun control and school safety. Photographer Gabriella Demczuk told TIME that the march felt different from others she has covered in the capital. "There's a sense of hope and urgency that I have not felt in D.C. in a long time," she said.

Photograph by Gabriella Demczuk for TIME
For more photos from the march, visit time.com/march-photos

WHO LIVES WHO DIES WHO TELLS OUR STORY?
THE YOUTH
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH
WE APE GREAT MILLS
IT HAPPENED AT MY SCHOOL
THE ONLY GLOCK I WANT IN MY CLASSROOM
WHY ARE DRESS CODES STRICTER THAN GUN CONTROL
POLICE



YOUR BODY
YOUR HOPE

Your immune system may be the key to beating cancer.

Immunotherapy, a new approach to cancer treatment, is bringing hope to cancer survivors everywhere. Immunotherapy works by empowering your body's own immune system to correctly identify and eradicate cancer cells. This approach has been used to effectively fight many types of cancer, with new research leading to greater hope each day. Speak with your doctor and visit **standuptocancer.org/immunotherapy** to learn if immunotherapy may be right for you.

Jimmy Smits, SU2C Ambassador
Photo By: Timothy White

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The View

POLITICS

Stormy Daniels: underestimated warrior

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

As numb as we have become to the shock and ugh of the Trump presidency, here's one thing we didn't foresee: Stormy Daniels, porn star, director, entrepreneur and fiercely funny tweeter, might just be the woman the resistance needs.

INSIDE

WHY THIS AMAZING MARCH MADNESS SHOULD MAKE FANS MAD

FIFTY YEARS AFTER MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WAS SHOT, WILL AMERICA STOP LYING TO ITSELF?

WHAT LOSING H.R. MCMASTER'S "SMART POWER" MEANS FOR THE WHITE HOUSE

Daniels, whose real name is Stephanie Clifford, may be able to accomplish what millions of outraged women marching in pink hats could not—holding Donald Trump accountable for his behavior. If her lawyer Michael Avenatti succeeds with the motion he filed late on March 27 in Los Angeles, the President will have to testify under oath about the payment that Daniels received after signing a nondisclosure agreement to keep quiet about the consensual relationship she alleges that she and Trump had in 2006. The President has not spoken directly about the case, but has denied through his lawyer that the affair even happened. This legal maneuvering could expose the President and his lawyer to all kinds of campaign-finance-law questions about the $130,000 in "hush money" that Daniels received from the President's attorney Michael Cohen just weeks before the 2016 election. The case could finally force Trump to tell the truth. Or it could get stuck in the courts for years.

Regardless of the legal outcome, Daniels has in many ways already won. In her *60 Minutes* interview, she calmly, articulately dismantled Trump's macho armor in a way that an army of feminists hasn't been able to. Think of it: a President who turns even his relationships with world leaders into a virility contest about whose button is bigger had to watch along with 22 million viewers as a woman who has sex for a living said she didn't want to have sex with him.

UNCHARACTERISTICALLY, the man who has no problem attacking the Pope or the entire FBI hasn't launched a counterstrike against Daniels or his other legal tormentors like former Playboy model Karen McDougal, who also appeared on *60 Minutes* to talk about an alleged affair with Trump. McDougal is suing American Media, which she says deceived her when it bought the exclusive rights to her story, because its intention was to protect Trump, not help her career as promised. She, like Daniels, decided to tell all before the courts ruled. It's a small but very visible revolt against the culture of forced arbitration and NDAs that shields men's reputations by silencing women, not just in personal matters but in professions ranging from finance to politics. There is hope that the spotlight on these high-stakes NDAs will stoke a larger revolution in companies, and courthouses will curb the power of these agreements.

On Twitter, Daniels is anything but quiet. She not only discusses her case, but also promotes her subscription-only videos and battles sexist trolls with wit and a kind of fierce pride that a lot of women find inspiring. If someone calls her a whore, she says thank you. She has the world's best comebacks to questions about her breasts. She admonishes anyone who calls her a victim, because she says it diminishes real victims. Women praise her courage and find unexpected solidarity with her, and have tweeted things like, "Whether you're an adult film star or a teacher or whatever, if you're a woman, you'll be called a whore one day."

Then there's the case of Summer Zervos, a former *Apprentice* contestant who filed a defamation suit against the President for calling her a liar when she accused him of sexual harassment. That case is moving slowly through the courts but may result in a parade of other accusers stepping up to give sworn testimony of their grievances for the record, finally getting their day in court.

It is a particular irony that these women whom Trump has tried so hard to silence present the most immediate peril to the success of his presidency—even as a fleet of FBI lawyers investigate his campaign. The *Wall Street Journal* editorial board put it this way: "The Stormy Daniels case is typical of Mr. Trump's pre-presidential behavior in thinking he can, with enough threats and dissembling, get away with anything. He's never understood that a President can't behave that way, and this may be the cause of his downfall."

The whole saga feels like a Greek myth in which the Fates—whom we'll call Stormy, Summer and Karen—take on a rogue king. ◻

Daniels during her 60 Minutes interview, broadcast on March 25

READING LIST

A selection of stories published on time.com/ideas

Google's biased past

Dr. Safiya Noble, author of *Algorithms of Oppression,* details **her study of the search results for "black girls"** between 2010 and 2016. At first, they sent users to pornographic websites—warping the view of black women. Google has tweaked its system, but Noble asks about "how we get these stereotypes in the first place."

How to make it in the comedy boys' club

Veteran TV producer Nell Scovell—who's written for *Letterman* and *NCIS* and created *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*—encourages **more collaboration to overcome sexism in Hollywood:** "If women who don't help women get a special circle in hell, I think women who do help women should get a special cloud in heaven."

Facebook: an infidelity machine

Divorce lawyer James Sexton **recommends those "vaguely unhappy with your relationship"** to sign off the site. He writes, "The vast majority of what you'll find there is unhappiness masked as happiness."

THE RISK REPORT

Despite the apparent bromance, Trump has been tough on Russia

By Ian Bremmer

WE DON'T YET KNOW why Donald Trump seems so fond of Vladimir Putin. Maybe we never will. But the expulsion from the U.S. of 60 Russian diplomats and the shuttering of the Russian consulate in Seattle reminds us that the media obsession with the Trump-Putin bromance hides the reality that U.S. government policy remains as tough on Russia as it was under President Obama (and potentially would have been under Hillary Clinton).

Consider Ukraine. In December, the Trump Administration approved the export to Ukraine's military of lethal weapons, including American-made Javelin antitank missiles, to help Kiev shore up its defense of eastern Ukraine against separatists backed by Moscow. Under Obama, the U.S. provided Ukraine with only support equipment and training. Trump also pushed for the U.S. to sell more coal to energy-strapped Ukraine, a boon for coal miners who supported Trump's candidacy and also for Ukraine, which is now less vulnerable to any winter cutoff of energy supplies. In Syria, U.S. troops are present as much to limit Russian and Iranian influence on the country's future as to fight the remnants of the Islamic State.

When Trump criticized NATO allies for not spending enough on defense, he was accused of encouraging Russia to test alliance resolve. Yet now NATO allies have taken steps to pay more, and NATO looks stronger than before. Not the outcome Putin wanted.

The ouster of diplomats offers another instructive comparison. In the wake of the 2016 election, Obama expelled 35 Russian diplomats and closed two diplomatic compounds, a symbolic move that did little to dissuade Moscow from continuing its election meddling across the West. Trump hasn't definitively acknowledged that this meddling took place, but his Administration, with a push from Congress, approved sanctions against 19 Russian individuals and five Russian organizations. Ironically, many of the individuals targeted were unearthed by the Robert Mueller investigation.

FOUR MONTHS AGO, the Trump Administration leveled financial sanctions and travel restrictions against 50-plus individuals accused of corruption and human-rights abuses under both the Magnitsky Act (named for a Russian whistle-blower) and its international variant, the Global Magnitsky Act. Among those included on the sanctions lists were the son of Russian prosecutor general Yuri Chaika and Putin-backed strongman Ramzan Kadyrov, the President of Chechnya.

What to make of the discrepancy between Trump's lack of criticism and his Administration's moves against Moscow?

What to make of this discrepancy between Trump's lack of criticism and his Administration's tangible moves against Moscow? Three things. First, there are limits on the President's power, even on foreign policy. Second, incoherence from the White House makes it easier for Congress and the Pentagon to push for the foreign policy they support. Third, while Trump has a noted affinity for strongmen (see: Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Egypt's Abdul Fattah al-Sisi), he's also sensitive to any suggestion that Putin controls him. He may not call Putin a liar, but by siding with Western allies on Ukraine and the poisoning investigation in the U.K., he is making clear that there is a limit to how much of Russia's aggressive behavior he can ignore.

"I have been much tougher on Russia than Obama, just look at the facts. Total Fake News!" Trump tweeted in February. Maybe he's done it under pressure. But he has a point. And we'd all be better served if the media coverage focused more on the policies than the personalities. ◻

QUICK TALK

Dolores Huerta

The pioneering labor activist helped organize the United Farm Workers and is the subject of the documentary Dolores, *now on PBS.org.*

One of the film's theses is that you didn't get credit for the work you did to organize the farmworkers. Did you feel overlooked? I didn't *expect* any kind of recognition. I think that's very typical of women. That's changing now. We will never have peace until feminists take power.

Farmworkers are part of the #MeToo movement. When did you become aware of the sexual harassment affecting them? Farmworker women have always been subjected to sexual harassment and rape. The thing is, if the woman reports harassment from the foreman, then maybe the whole family will get fired. We did a lot of work with the union to get women to report it.

Where do you see American activism going next? We have to do it through our educational system. We've got to include the contributions of people of color. And the labor movement! How many people know how we got to eight-hour days? We can erase the ignorance that we have. —*Lily Rothman*

Huerta, attending the 2018 Academy Awards

DANIELS: CBS/GETTY IMAGES; HUERTA: VALERIE MACON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The whitewashing—and resurrection—of Dr. King's legacy

By Eddie S. Glaude Jr.

ON SEPT. 20, 1966, IN THE SMALL TOWN of Grenada, Miss., Martin Luther King Jr. would not get out of bed. Andrew Young, his closest adviser, tried everything. He used all the techniques they had learned over the course of the movement when any one of them faced debilitating exhaustion. Nothing worked. This was not exhaustion. King had fallen into a deep depression, and he would not budge.

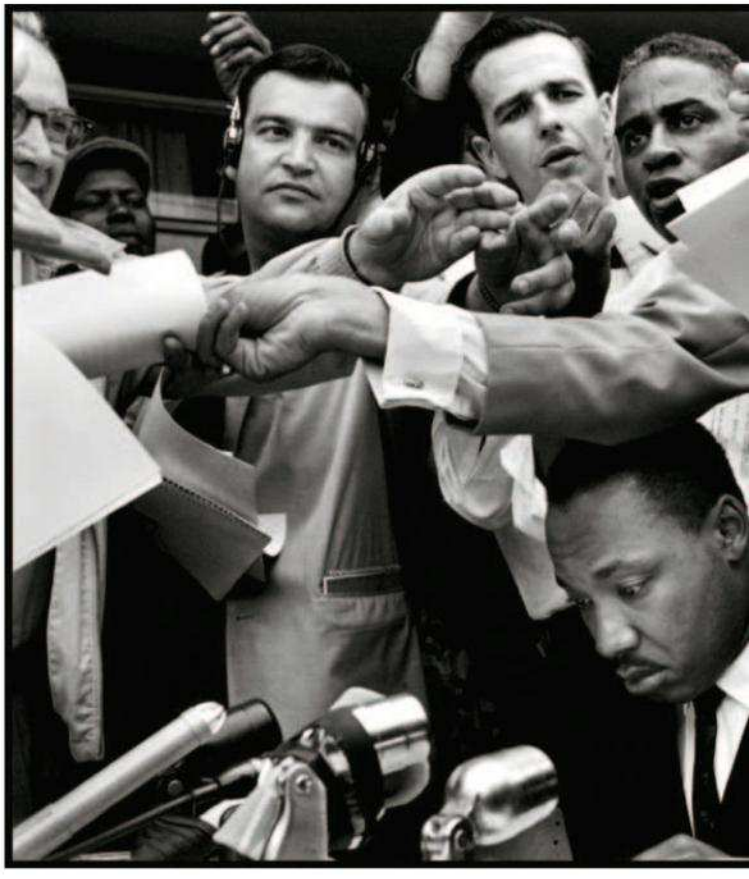
King's bout hit in the midst of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's efforts to desegregate schools in Grenada County. He had witnessed, once again, the human capacity for evil. As 150 black students entered John Rundle High School and Lizzie Horn Elementary School, an angry mob gathered outside. White students were dismissed at midday. Half an hour later, black students emerged. The mob attacked the children. Grown men descended upon 12-year-old Richard Sigh and broke his leg with lead pipes. Others laughed as they pummeled a girl in pigtails. No wonder King went to bed.

Near the end of his life, King confronted the uncertainty of his moral vision. He had underestimated how deeply the belief that white people matter more than others—what I call the value gap—was ingrained in the habits of American life. He saw that white resentment involved more than fatigue with mass demonstrations and demands for racial equality—and was not simply a sin of the South. It was embedded in the very psyche of white America.

In King's final book, *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*, drafted in early 1967, he argued in part that white supremacy stood in the way of America's democracy, that it was an ever-present force in frustrating the dreams of the nation's darker-skinned citizens. At the heart of it was a distorted understanding of the meaning of racial justice. He wrote:

> *Negroes have proceeded from a premise that equality means what it says, and they have taken white Americans at their word when they talked of it as an objective. But most whites in America … proceed from a premise that equality is a loose expression for improvement. White America is not even psychologically organized to close the gap—essentially it seeks only to make it less painful and less obvious but in most respects to retain it.*

This is a devastating judgment about our so-called national commitment to progress. It reduces racial justice to a charitable enterprise by which white people "do good" for black people. This, in turn, provides white Americans with a necessary illusion that preserves the idea of innocence and insulates their conscience or, perhaps, their soul from guilt and blame.

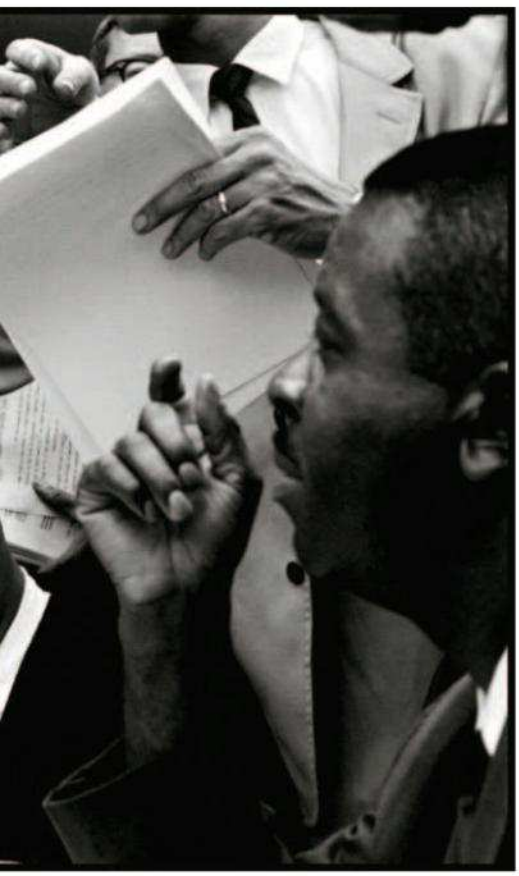


Martin Luther King Jr. attends a press conference in Alabama in 1963

King did not craft this conclusion from thin air. This was a lesson learned from experience. The brutality of the South and the hypocrisy of the country led him to conclude that the view of racial equality as a charitable enterprise distorted the principles of democracy itself and disfigured the moral character of those who believed the lie.

Nearly a year after his refusal to leave his bed, in August 1967, King stated plainly "that the vast majority of white Americans are racists, either consciously or unconsciously." Eight months later, he would lie dead on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. has been dead for 50 years now, and over this half-century his bones have been picked clean. Conservatives invoke his name in defense of their vision of a color-blind society. Liberals use him to authenticate their own politics. Black politicians yoke his legacy to their own ambitions.



In so many ways, King's life has been reduced to the lead character in a fable the nation tells itself about "the movement," which begins with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and culminates with the 1963 March on Washington or in Selma in 1965. It is a neat tale with Southern villains, heightened drama, tragic deaths and heroic triumph. It does not mention King's depression. It does not reckon with what he told the Rev. D.E. King, that his work "has been in vain … The whole thing will have to be done away." Instead, it enlists King in fortifying the illusion of this nation's inherent goodness. It coddles the country from a damning reality.

A genuine reckoning with the murdered preacher reveals a different story. In 1967 at Stanford University, as he toured the nation trying to rally support for what would become his Poor People's Campaign, King offered this assessment of the movement and the challenges ahead:

> *[W]e must see that the struggle today is much more difficult. It's more difficult today because we are struggling now for genuine equality … [N]egroes generally live in worse slums today than 20 or 25 years ago. In the North, schools are more segregated today than they were in 1954 … [T]he unemployment rate among whites at one time was about the same as the unemployment rate among Negroes. But today the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice that of whites. And the average income of the Negro is today 50% less than whites.*

His description reads like an account of today: Homeownership among African Americans is just over 40%, 30 points behind the rate for whites. Public schools are as racially segregated as they were in the '60s, and black kids are three times as likely to be poor as white kids. The nonpartisan Economic Policy Institute reports that black unemployment remains roughly twice that of white unemployment. The wealth gap between black and white Americans has tripled over the last half-century.

Fifty years after King's assassination, with so much unchanged, Donald Trump has ripped off the scab of the nation's racial politics, emboldening a kind of overt racism that many convinced themselves had been banished. Hate crimes are rising. Supporters of white supremacists have found jobs in the highest levels of government. Even among some stalwart Democrats we hear demands that more attention should be given to blue collar, white workers and to those economically left behind in rural America or the Rust Belt. This dovetails with the conservative view of the "forgotten" American, who always happens to be white.

All the while, another black family has to bury their loved one killed at the hands of the police. This week, the name resonating is Stephon Clark; next week, it could be someone else. A tragic irony lives on: black death is commonplace, easily understood and yet swept out of sight. It could not be otherwise. For white America to confront the reality of what is happening in the shadows and segregated spaces of this country requires a kind of maturity and honesty that would shatter our national myth that equality has been a shared goal.

It can happen. We're seeing seismic shifts. Black Lives Matter, #MeToo and March for Our Lives are reconfiguring cultural norms and may signal a realignment of our politics. Jaclyn Corin, a white survivor of the Parkland, Fla., shooting, spoke at the march in Washington, where hundreds of thousands of people had gathered. "We openly recognize that we are privileged individuals and would not have received as much attention if it weren't for the affluence of our city. Because of that, however, we share this stage today and forever with those who have always stared down the barrel of a gun." That isn't "a loose expression for improvement."

We have a chance, once again, to make real the promises of our democracy. It will require us to honestly confront who we are. No myths. No fables. Evil sent King to his bed, but he got up and kept fighting. We must do the same.

Glaude is the chair of the department of African-American studies at Princeton University and author of Democracy in Black

Jaclyn Corin, right, and Yolanda Renee King, granddaughter of Martin Luther King Jr., address the March for Our Lives rally in Washington on March 24

MLK: BRUCE DAVIDSON—MAGNUM PHOTOS; KING AND CORIN: CHIP SOMODEVILLA—GETTY IMAGES

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

The Maddest March ever

By Sean Gregory

QUICK, AND BE HONEST NOW: WHEN you filled out your March Madness bracket a few weeks back, along with millions of your fellow Americans, did you actually pick 16th-seeded University of Maryland, Baltimore County to upset the University of Virginia, the top team in the entire NCAA men's basketball tournament? Or Loyola University Chicago to knock off a string of bigger-name and better-funded programs on its way to the Final Four, which tips off on March 31 in San Antonio? And you certainly didn't put any money on a 98-year-old nun emerging as the biggest celebrity of all, right?

No, of course you didn't. No one saw UMBC's win coming—the first time a top seed has lost in the first round—nor were we prepared for the joy that is Sister Jean Dolores Schmidt, Loyola-Chicago's team chaplain, who has inspired her underdog charges while throwing shade at brash college hoops analyst Charles Barkley in a national television interview.

This is a March Madness for the ages—which only makes the hypocrisy surrounding the tournament all the more troubling.

In 2016–17, revenue for the NCAA, the nonprofit organization that oversees major college sports, exceeded $1 billion for the first time. Broadcast rights to the men's basketball tournament alone delivered $761 million of that haul. The NCAA goes out of its way to protect the financial interests of its tournament sponsors. All members of the media sitting courtside at games, for example, are required to pour their drinks into Powerade cups, since parent company Coca-Cola is an NCAA "corporate champion."

Meanwhile, the NCAA takes extraordinary measures to impede the financial interests of the tournament's main attraction: the players. The organization's amateurism rules prohibit student-athletes from earning any money above a stipend that covers the cost of living at school. Yes, players receive athletic scholarships that cover hefty tuition bills. That's a valuable prize. But the vast majority of the kids lighting up your TV screen were recruited to their school to play basketball, not study chemistry. And don't think they don't know it.

While players are governed by draconian rules, coaches can enjoy the fruits of the free market. The University of Connecticut, for example, just lured coach Danny Hurley with a six-year contract worth roughly $3 million a year. Coaches are also free to profit from their celebrity by giving paid speeches, hawking branded products or selling instructional videos.

Sister Jean, the 98-year-old team chaplain for Loyola-Chicago, greets players after a win

Rules govern players, while coaches enjoy a free market

THIS DISPARITY is all the more unseemly since the FBI has started nosing around college basketball's shady underbelly. The ongoing federal probe has led to the arrests of assistant coaches and corporate-marketing representatives who allegedly arranged under-the-table deals to steer promising players to certain schools or tie them to financial advisers after turning pro. The scandal led the University of Louisville to fire Hall of Fame coach Rick Pitino after $100,000 was allegedly funneled to the family of a top prospect in exchange for his commitment to the school. Pitino has denied knowing about such a payment.

This black market is a direct result of the NCAA's outdated restrictions. If a school thinks a player is worth six figures, then that player should have a right to maximize his earning power. Even if the NCAA refuses to allow players a fairer share of its $1 billion pie, the organization could permit them to earn money through sponsorships with shoe companies or local car dealerships.

So does this mean we are all a bunch of March Madness–loving, binge-viewing-at-work hypocrites? Without a doubt. But decrying the injustice of big-time basketball's amateurism rules doesn't mean you have to stop fueling the college sports economy. March Madness is the greatest guilty pleasure in sports. After all, the NCAA knows what it's got: there's a reason TV rights to the tournament will increase to about $879 million in 2019, a 16% jump over two years. So please forgive us, Sister Jean, while we root on for Cinderella. ◻

TONY GUTIERREZ—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

What H.R. McMaster's retirement reveals

By James Stavridis

I MET COLONEL H.R. MCMASTER IN THE early years of the Iraq War, when he was in command of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment in Tal Afar, Iraq. It was a hot and dusty day, and I was a three-star Vice Admiral traveling with my boss at the time, Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld. McMaster, who looks like he ought to be working as a bouncer in a city bar in the Badlands neighborhood of his Philadelphia hometown, briefed us on his work in pacifying the violent region with an adept blend of hard and soft power—what some have called "smart power."

The encounter solidified in my mind the superb intellect combined with operational skills that have characterized his career. As the NATO Commander a few years later, and wearing four stars, I requested his assignment to my Afghan command as a one-star to take on the dark heart of our challenges there: corruption in the Afghan government. He did hard work in a difficult place, and my respect for him grew.

MCMASTER'S 1997 BOOK, *Dereliction of Duty,* is in many ways a stinging indictment of the Washington culture of subtle deceit, hidden agenda and backstabbing that helped pull the U.S. into a quagmire in Vietnam. It tells the story of the malfeasance of the uniformed senior military in misleading the nation and the President about the true state of affairs as the war spiraled down to defeat. It is also a cautionary tale. In his time in the White House, McMaster tried to rise above what Rex Tillerson called in an outburst of candor (and an understatement, frankly) this "mean-spirited town." McMaster's short tenure as President Donald Trump's National Security Adviser certainly reinforced that assessment.

The media accounts of his relationship with the President are largely true. When we get an assignment in the military, we call them "orders," and this was a set of orders he would gladly have passed on. But like a good soldier, he shouldered the pack and stepped into the White House to do what he could to create at least part of a guardrail system around this mercurial and unstable President.

McMaster is a good judge of character. From the beginning, he knew he would deal with whipsaw views on the key elements of foreign policy, like watching positions on North Korea lurch from "fire and fury" to accepting a meeting with Kim Jong Un to cut a big, beautiful deal. No National Security Adviser could bring order out of the policy chaos any more than McMaster's fellow general John Kelly could bring order to the process chaos. This is a President who revels in chaos. For a national-security team, that gives birth to the worst quality from an international perspective, especially an allied one: inconsistency. Trump has said he doesn't want our enemies to know what we are thinking; the problem is, neither do our friends nor even, it seems at times, do we ourselves.

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISERS

Incoming: **John Bolton** *Assuming office: April 9, 2018*

Outgoing: **H.R. McMaster** *Dates of service: Feb. 20, 2017–April 9, 2018*

Gone: **Michael Flynn** *Dates of service: Jan. 20, 2017–Feb. 13, 2017*

McMaster worked hard to bring talent to the National Security Council staff, avoid turf battles and generate a coherent national-security strategy. When the strategy came out, I chatted with McMaster about it, and he said, "America First doesn't have to mean America Alone." He managed to make the document shockingly normal. While dropping out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris climate accord were battles he could not win, he managed to at least keep a sense of mainstream foreign-policy choices in play: a strong NATO, Asian alliances, countering a resurgent Russia and a rising China, a focus on cyber and energy, and other reasonable positions.

But by the end of a year, both the pace and above all the bureaucratic stresses in the White House were beginning to show. Disagreements with Cabinet departments started to undermine his position. He began to receive less support from the Pentagon and Kelly, and his solid, thoughtful and measured personality naturally grated on the boss. The rumors of his dismissal have been circulating for months. The fact that he has chosen retirement instead of moving on to a fourth star speaks volumes.

I SUSPECT AND HOPE we will see more of H.R. McMaster. His intellect and depth of experience will be valuable to the private sector, and I hope he will return to government in an Administration more in line with both his sensible, centrist views and, perhaps more important, his rational personality. In shifting to John Bolton, we go from a centrist to a neocon; from a calming personality who builds teams to a harsh ideologue who drives them into the ground; and from a practitioner of smart power to a theorist of hard power. The drums of war are beating louder, and in the Pentagon they are taking a deep breath and preparing for conflict not only on the banks of the Potomac but also, more dangerously, around the world. We are poorer for the departure of H.R. McMaster. He deserved a better ending to his short, strange voyage.

Stavridis was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

BOLTON, MCMASTER, FLYNN: GETTY IMAGES (3)

THE ENFORCER

JEFF SESSIONS IS CHANGING AMERICA FOR DONALD TRUMP, WHETHER THE PRESIDENT APPRECIATES IT OR NOT

BY MOLLY BALL

WHEN JEFF SESSIONS WAS A BOY OF 7 OR 8, HE HAD a dog that followed him everywhere. But one day, the dog got him in trouble. Sessions had run with the mutt into the woods of rural Alabama, figuring it knew where it was going. By the time he realized he was wrong, the two of them were hopelessly lost. "They closed all the stores and everyone had to go looking for me," Sessions recalled with a chuckle. "My excuse was, I was just following him."

Sessions told me this story on March 15—the day before he fired former deputy FBI director Andrew McCabe—from his blue vinyl club chair on the military jet that had whisked the U.S. Attorney General away from Washington. It had the ring of a parable: beware those who seem the most loyal to you; it is they who will lead you astray.

Donald Trump once followed Sessions' lead, promising as a candidate the crackdowns on crime, immigration and trade for which Sessions crusaded in the Senate. The first Senator to endorse Trump, Sessions gave him credibility with the far right and provided the intellectual framework for his law-and-order sloganeering. And as Attorney General, he has turned Trump's rhetoric into reality, emerging as the most effective enforcer of the President's agenda.

But if the fixation on law and order brought Sessions and Trump together, it is also what has rent them asunder. When Sessions recused himself a year ago from the investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, he set in motion the chain of events that culminated in the appointment of special counsel Robert Mueller. Trump has never forgiven him. In public and private, the President has denigrated the proud former Senator, calling him an "idiot," "beleaguered" and "disgraceful."

The broken relationship has turned the job of a lifetime into an exercise in humiliation. Rumors that Sessions' neck is on the chopping block are constant, and Environmental Protection Agency chief Scott Pruitt has been angling to replace him. As Sessions and I spoke on the plane, he was headed to Nashville to give a speech to a police chiefs' convention, followed by a stop in Lexington, Ky., to meet with prosecutors, police and families affected by the opioid crisis. All the while, Fox News played on mute above his head, its chyrons questioning whether Sessions was about to be fired.

Even if his tenure ends tomorrow, Sessions would leave a legacy that will affect millions of Americans. He has dramatically shifted the orientation of the Justice Department, pulling back from police oversight and civil rights enforcement and pushing a hard-line approach to drugs, gangs and immigration violations. He has cast aside his predecessors' attempts to rectify inequities in the criminal-justice system in favor of a maximalist approach to prosecuting and jailing criminals. He has rescinded the Obama Administration's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program and reversed its stances on voting rights and transgender rights. "I am thrilled to be able to advance an agenda that I believe in," he told a group of federal prosecutors in Lexington later that day. "I believed in it before I came here, and I'll believe in it when I'm gone."

Sessions' liberal critics agree that he's been remarkably effective. That's why they find him so frightening. He has, they charge, put the full force of law behind Trump's racially coded rhetoric. "The Justice Department is supposed to be protecting people, keeping people safe and affirming our basic rights,"

Sessions greets law-enforcement officers in Kentucky. "The fundamental question is, Who rules the streets?" the U.S. Attorney General says. "The government or the outlaws?"

Photographs by Philip Montgomery for TIME

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
EASTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY
QUI PRO DOMINA JUSTITIA SEQUITUR

says Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, a Democrat who took the extraordinary step of testifying against a fellow Senator during Sessions' confirmation hearings last year. "But he has rolled back the Justice Department's efforts to do that." The irony of Sessions' position is that the same critics who despise his policy initiatives are adamant that Trump should not remove him. "Jeff Sessions is not acting in defense of the rights of Americans. He should not be in that job," Booker told me. "But I do not think he should be fired for the reasons Donald Trump would fire him."

As the chaos in the White House rages and threatens to consume him, Sessions professes to pay it no heed. "I want to do what the President wants me to do," he said in his slow, drawling voice, his blue-green eyes peering over the top of his glasses. A wry smirk lifted a corner of his lips. "But I do feel like we're advancing the agenda that he believes in. And what's good for me is it's what I believe in too."

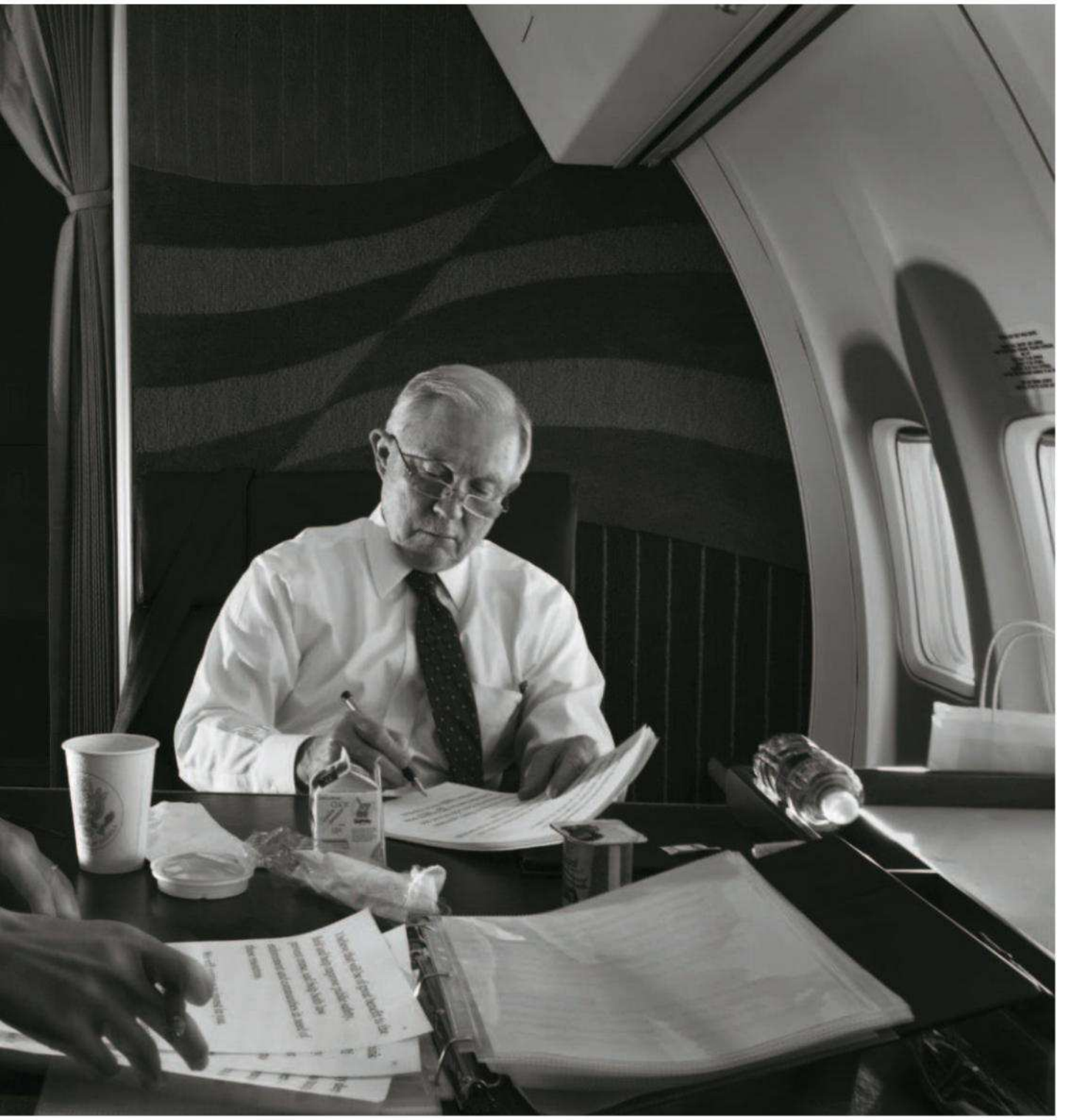
IT WAS A BRISK, SUNNY DAY in Lexington, with dirty clumps of snow still clinging to the ground. Sessions marched across the tarmac into the waiting motorcade. At 71, he is full of energy, and his slight stature and elfin ears give him a buoyancy that belies his severe views. His bright eyes and upturned mouth make him look like he's smiling even when he's delivering a jeremiad against criminals or foreigners.

In an upstairs room in the building housing the U.S. Attorney's office, a group of white people sat in a semicircle, surrounded by framed photographs of their dead loved ones. Sessions sat before them, listening to their pleas for more help from the federal government. "'Just say no,' it won't work with this drug," said a stocky man named Dennis, whose 24-year-old daughter died of a fentanyl overdose.

After hearing the stories, Sessions had a question. "How many of your children had treatment before they died?" Seeing nearly all the hands raised, he nodded grimly. "Well, we need treatment," he said, "but it is true that a lot of people it doesn't work for."

What does work, according to Sessions, is arresting people and locking them up. He has stuck to this stance, forged by his work as a prosecutor in the 1970s and '80s, even as the mainstream consensus has shifted. In recent years, most experts have come to view the war on drugs as a counterproductive failure, and a bipartisan movement for criminal-justice reform seeks to soften the harsh and unequal penalties it imposed.

The reformers have made considerable headway at the state level. Texas has closed eight prisons and saved millions of dollars without seeing crime rise. In the '80s and '90s, "we put a lot of people in prison, but there's no evidence that made us any safer," says Koch Industries' Mark Holden, who has led the conservative Koch brothers' push on the issue. (Koch Industries, through a subsidiary, is an investor



Sessions reviews remarks to be delivered to a gathering of police chiefs in Nashville in mid-March

From left: An FBI agent awaits Sessions' visit to a field office in Nashville; the Attorney General edits a speech about the opioid epidemic aboard his plane

in Meredith Corporation, TIME's parent company.)

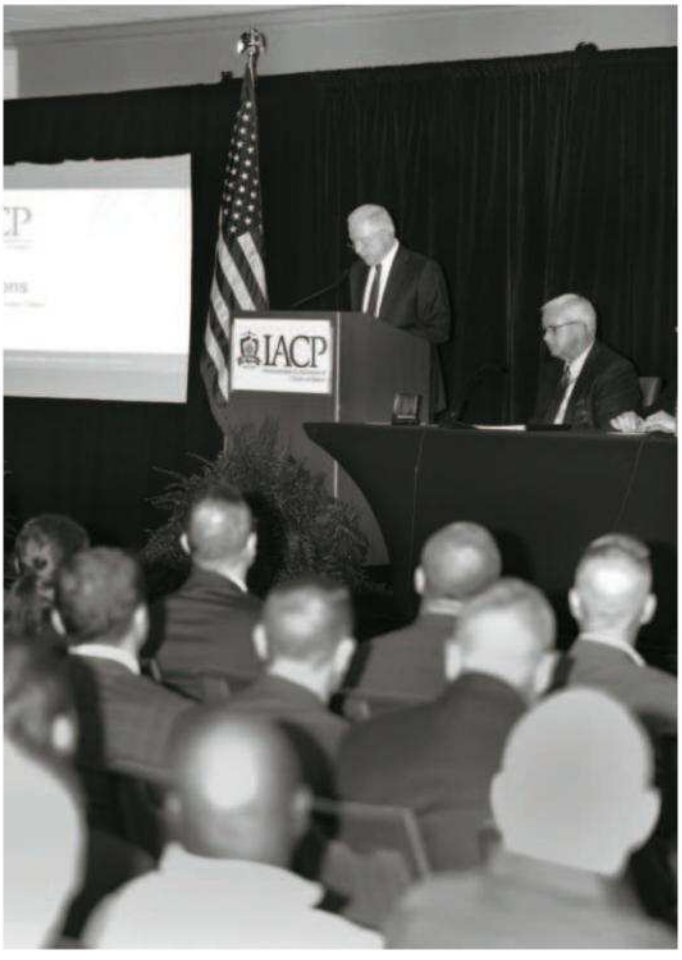
Under Obama, the Justice Department investigated local police departments, exposing systematic mistreatment of minorities, and secured agreements, known as "consent decrees," to reform their practices. Attorney General Eric Holder launched a "smart on crime" initiative urging federal prosecutors to use discretion in seeking harsh sentences. Reform efforts have helped reduce the federal prison population from 220,000 to 180,000 in the past five years. To Obama's progressive supporters, these changes were among his greatest strokes of racial progress.

But in the view of Sessions and his supporters, including many in law enforcement, the reformers have it backward. Under Obama, Sessions believes, the DOJ sent all the wrong signals, demoralizing police officers and soft-pedaling the dangers of drugs. In speeches, he cites the shrinking prison population not as a breakthrough but as a worrisome trend. "We've got some space to put some people!" he told the chiefs in Nashville. Sessions believes today's low crime rates are a direct result of "proactive policing" and harsh sentences, and that dialing them back is causing crime to rise. According to the FBI, the violent crime rate rose 7% between 2014 and 2016, and the murder rate rose 20%, following years of decline.

Sessions has moved swiftly to unwind the Obama Justice Department's policies. He canceled the "smart on crime" initiative and replaced it with a directive to pursue maximal charging and sentencing. He pulled out of the consent decrees and rescinded Holder's hands-off marijuana-enforcement policy. He announced the end of DACA, stepped up deportation orders and sued California over sanctuary cities. He has embraced Trump's call to impose the death penalty on some drug dealers, which some legal scholars consider unconstitutional. Emphasizing treatment for drug addicts isn't just ineffective, according to Sessions—it's dangerous. "The extraordinary surge in addiction and drug death is a product of a popular misunderstanding of the dangers of drugs," he told me. "Because all too often, all we get in the media is how anybody who's against drugs is goofy, and we just ought to chill out."

In February, Sessions sent a letter warning the Senate that a bill to reduce federal sentences risked "putting the very worst criminals back into our communities." (An outraged Chuck Grassley, the Republican Senator from Iowa, told reporters that if Sessions wanted to keep making laws, he should go back to elected office.) Sessions believes his erstwhile colleagues have been misled. "This whole mentality that there's another solution other than incarceration," he told me, "all I will say to you is, people today don't know that every one of these things has been tried over the last 40 years."

Sessions seemed exasperated when I asked him to address the disproportionate impact of harsh policing and incarceration on black families and communities. He cited the work of Heather Mac Donald, the



Sessions has continued to carry out Trump's agenda, speaking to families of opioid victims in Kentucky (left) *and delivering a speech to police chiefs in Nashville* (right)

controversial conservative scholar who argues that racial bias in the criminal-justice system is a myth and that the real problem is a "war on cops." Mac Donald popularized the concept of the "Ferguson effect," an unproven theory that crime rises when police feel hamstrung by political oversight. Sessions embraces this notion. In cities like Baltimore and Chicago, he told me, politicians "spend all that time attacking the police department instead of the criminals."

To critics, all these theories are no more than window dressing for a racist system that intimidates, imprisons and kills black people indiscriminately in order to make white people feel safe. Since the 1960s, "law and order" has been a coded political slogan, a fear-based appeal to galvanize white voters. "There is a consensus that the war on drugs of the 1980s and '90s destroyed communities, disproportionately impacted people of color, ballooned the criminal-justice system and the prisons, and exacerbated poverty and inequality in our country," says Todd Cox, director of policy for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. By turning the Justice Department away from civil rights and toward harsh enforcement, Sessions embodies what many see as the institutional racism of the Trump Administration. He has taken the racially coded messages that served as dog whistles during the campaign and operationalized them into policy.

The conviction among his critics that Sessions is racist has sometimes led them to overreach. In February, a Democratic Senator and the American Civil Liberties Union blasted him for referring to the "Anglo-American heritage of law enforcement" in a speech. It was a factual description, one Obama had used on many occasions. But in explaining it to me, Sessions couldn't resist a detour into cultural stereotypes. "I believe the American legal system, which clearly developed out of England, is a wonder of the world, and it's based on the fact that lady justice is blindfolded," he said. "When you go and travel like I have—to Kosovo, to Afghanistan, to Iraq—where we've invested huge amounts of money and effort to export our legal system to a culture that's totally unfamiliar with it, it doesn't work. It's because it requires a degree of trust and respect, education and maybe even a cultural predisposition."

Sessions contends that the policies he champions help minority communities by cleaning up their neighborhoods. "If you do the map of your city and you've got five times the murders in a minority neighborhood, do you just go away?" he asked me, eyes narrowed. "Or do you prosecute the criminals who are committing the murders? That's the fundamental answer. And the other thing is, you think the mothers who've got children, the older people who are afraid to walk to the grocery store—shouldn't they be free just like they are in the elite part of town?"

Sessions leaned over the plastic airplane table. "Whose side are you on?" he asked. "I'm on the victims' side, and overwhelmingly the victims are

minorities. The prosecution of certain minorities for murder, the victim is overwhelmingly another African American or Hispanic. It occurs within their own communities." (Law-enforcement statistics show white criminals also tend to target white victims.)

His eyes gleamed as he sat back. "We are protecting minority citizens," he concluded. "The fundamental question is, Who rules the streets? The government, or the outlaws?"

JEFFERSON BEAUREGARD SESSIONS III grew up in Hybart, a small town in rural southwestern Alabama, where his father owned a country store. He was raised to follow the rules. "I was always persnickety about integrity and all that," he said. The troubled history of race in America runs through his family. His grandfather, the original J.B. Sessions, was named after two icons of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis and P.G.T. Beauregard, and was 2 when his own father died at Antietam. Sessions' ancestors migrated south in the 1830s, when President Andrew Jackson forcibly removed Native Americans from the land that is now Alabama to accommodate the growing white population. Like many white Southerners of long lineage, he is descended from numerous slave owners, including his mother's great-grandfather Oliver Powe, who the 1860 Census records as having owned 25 slaves.

Sessions attended segregated schools and an all-white university. After earning his law degree from the University of Alabama, he joined the U.S. Attorney's office in Mobile, and in 1986, then President Reagan nominated him for a federal judgeship. Sessions' confirmation turned contentious when the Senate Judiciary Committee confronted him with charges of racism. A black assistant U.S. Attorney testified that Sessions had addressed him as "boy" and had said that he thought the Ku Klux Klan was all right until he found out they smoked pot. (Sessions said he was joking.) Just as disturbing to liberals on the committee was a voter-fraud case Sessions had brought against a group of civil rights activists who were helping black voters cast their ballots. (The activists were acquitted.) Sessions protested that he was not a racist, and had allowed civil rights cases to move through his office. His nomination was rejected with a combination of Democratic and Republican votes.

Elected to the Senate in 1996, Sessions became known as a dogmatic outlier. As many Republicans called for increases in legal immigration and clemency for the undocumented, Sessions gave fiery floor speeches denouncing those ideas. He also jibed with Trump on trade, having come to view big global agreements as a raw deal for the American worker. With less immigration and fewer imported goods, he reasoned, companies would be forced to produce their wares in America, using American workers paid a substantial wage. Most economists disagree, arguing that even if these policies were feasible, they would raise prices and lower living standards.

Another crucial element of Sessions' worldview was his sense of resentment against elites. He saw what he called "Wall Street geniuses" and "masters of the universe" as out of touch with his working-class constituents' lives. "He was extraordinarily consistent," says Josh Holmes, a former chief of staff to Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, and "sort of the opposite of a chamber of commerce Republican."

Although his crusades were often lonely, Sessions could be effective. In 2013, when a bill providing a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants had support from powerful advocates across the political spectrum, Sessions was its loudest critic. He couldn't keep it from passing the Senate but successfully led the charge to stop it in the House. The conservative *National Review* dubbed him "Amnesty's worst enemy."

If many of Sessions' colleagues regarded him as

"I want to do what the President wants me to do," says Sessions, seen boarding a government plane to Washington. "I do feel like we're advancing the agenda that he believes in. And what's good for me is it's what I believe in too."

a gadfly, a growing faction of the hard right came to see him as a hero. The nationalist views he espoused attracted the attention of Breitbart.com and its then chairman, Stephen Bannon. At a time when many Republicans thought only a message of moderation could win back the White House, Bannon, who would go on to become Trump's chief campaign and White House strategist, was inspired by Sessions' insistence that restricting immigration and trade could be a political winner. As Sessions wrote in a 2012 memo to his colleagues: "This humble and honest populism—in contrast to the [Obama] Administration's cheap demagoguery—would open the ears of millions who have turned away from our party."

In 2013, Bannon tried to convince Sessions to run for President; he demurred. But Sessions was pleasantly surprised when Trump began campaigning on his old themes. Sessions' aide Stephen Miller went to work for Trump's campaign, helping shape his policy platform on immigration, trade and other issues. Just before Super Tuesday, Sessions became the first and only Senator to endorse Trump in the primary, dealing a blow to then rival Ted Cruz. Accepting the endorsement at a massive rally in Madison, Trump called Sessions "a great man."

Sessions became a close and trusted adviser to the campaign. He was thrilled that Trump had become the pitchman for his positions. "Here he comes on all of it, *boom boom boom,*" Sessions told me. "Nobody else was saying that."

AS THE SUN SET outside the plane window, Sessions began to wax philosophical about the rule of law. The Attorney General's job, he said, is to tell the executive what he can and can't do legally. Tenting his fingers beneath his chin, Sessions said he stands by his recusal from the Russia investigation: "I think I did the right thing. I don't think the Attorney General can ask everybody else in the department to follow the rules if the Attorney General doesn't follow them."

Trump appears to see it differently; he has reportedly griped that Sessions has failed to "protect" him. "He does get frustrated," Sessions concedes. "He's trying to run this country, and he's got to spend his time dealing with certain issues."

Like so many Republicans, Sessions has accommodated himself to Trump in ways that seem to contravene his principles. The day after I interviewed him, Sessions—acting on a recommendation from the inspector general and FBI disciplinary officials—fired the FBI's McCabe two days before he was set to retire. McCabe decried the act as politically motivated retaliation, an impression Trump bolstered with a set of gloating morning-after tweets. It was subsequently reported that McCabe had previously investigated Sessions over his Russian contacts.

Still, when it comes to the Russia investigation, Sessions has held the line against Trump's interference. Shortly before our trip, he had dinner at a Washington restaurant with Solicitor General Noel Francisco and Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, the official overseeing the Mueller probe. The tiniest of symbolic protests, it nonetheless reportedly sent Trump into a rage. Sessions declined to comment on the dinner conversation, but he did say he ordered the fried chicken—a house specialty—and a banana split that was too big to finish.

Sessions' ultimate loyalty, he told me, is not to any man but to a principle. "Congress passes a law, judges follow the law, and nobody's above the law, including the judges, and including the President," he said. Yet every person of conviction makes a bargain by going to work for Trump: to wield the levers of power, to make changes you believe are for the better, you will have to make certain compromises. As many others can attest—and as Sessions may soon discover—following Trump can lead you astray. ◻

World

HIGH-STAKES SUMMITS

Historic sit-downs could reshape the world far beyond the 38th parallel

By Charlie Campbell/ Tongilchon, South Korea

A decorated fence next to a suspected minefield inside the DMZ on March 21; a nearby sign warns not to enter, or a person could "get killed instantly"

PHOTOGRAPH BY MOISES SAMAN FOR TIME

DMZ

GROWING UP IN HYESAN, NORTH KOREA, a small industrial city near the border with China, Hyeonseo Lee heard plenty about Americans. But never without a modifier. "It was always 'American bastards' or 'American aggressors,'" she says.

When Lee was 13, her school made the obligatory pilgrimage to the Sinchon Museum of American War Atrocities. There, Lee and her classmates were told of the 35,000 civilians North Korea says were massacred by U.S. troops at the start of the Korean War in 1950. She was shown where 100 North Korean mothers were separated from their newborns as they cried out for milk. And she was brought to the room where the heartless Americans supposedly fed the babies gasoline instead, before flinging in a match.

"I didn't think Americans were human beings," says Lee, who fled North Korea in 1997 and wrote *The Girl With Seven Names* about her experience. "I thought they were animals that we had to kill off. That was the brainwashing from age 4."

Hatred of the U.S. is a founding principle of the North Korean regime. The revolutionary guerrilla Kim Il Sung seized power in 1948 and built the state ideology around the nebulous concept of *juche,* which is loosely defined as ultranationalist self-reliance. His descendants have maintained their control in part by instilling the belief that other nations are plotting North Korea's destruction with U.S. backing.

To guard against that threat, North Korea began developing a nuclear-weapons program in the early 1990s with the aid of former Soviet scientists. The regime's armament has continued in fits and starts, despite international efforts to contain it, and today includes 2,500 to 5,000 tons of chemical weapons and 200 launchers that can fire short-, medium- and long-range ballistic missiles. In late November, North Korea tested an ICBM that flew 10 times higher than the International Space Station and is theoretically capable of hitting any American city. "The entire area of the U.S. mainland is within our nuclear strike range," Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un said after the missile's test.

In response to the escalation, U.S. President Donald Trump called Kim "a madman" on Twitter and derided him as "Rocket Man" in a speech to the U.N. The White House has repeatedly refused to rule out a military response. "North Korea is the biggest threat to all of humankind as far as I'm concerned today," Terry Branstad, the U.S. ambassador to China, tells TIME.

Kim and Xi shake hands at the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse on March 27; Kim waves from his armored train before departing Beijing following his surprise visit

This would seem an unlikely moment for rapprochement. The 34-year-old dictator has never participated in formal negotiations with any nation, let alone the hated U.S. Yet after thawing relations with South Korea for the Winter Olympics, Kim made a stunning surprise visit to Beijing in his armored train at the invitation of Chinese President Xi Jinping on March 25–28—his first foreign visit since taking power in 2011—and is poised to sit down with South Korean President Moon Jae-in in April. (North Korean state media reports that Xi has also agreed to visit Pyongyang.) All of that is a prelude to Kim's planned summit with Trump in May.

How could two of the world's most bombastic leaders go, in the space of a few months, from trolling each other to displaying the mutual respect implied by a personal meeting?

For Kim, the short answer is money and security. Three new rounds of U.N. sanctions since Trump took office have cut off key revenue streams—chiefly exports of coal, labor and textiles—for his isolated and struggling economy. He also knows North Korea would lose any real conflict, even if it's capable of exacting a horrendous toll in the process. Experts says it's telling that Kim has put denuclearization on the table for the first time and pledged a moratorium on weapons tests.

The U.S. and its allies have various motivations for engaging with Kim, but all would benefit from neutralizing a rogue nuclear state. South Korea could face obliteration from attack from across

THESE PAGES: KCNA/KNS/AP; KCNA/KNS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

its border, while China and Japan—the world's second and third largest economies—are also at imminent risk.

Geography, meanwhile, no longer affords the U.S. the buffer it once did. Experts say North Korea could potentially strike the American mainland with a nuclear electromagnetic pulse that would wreak havoc on power grids, utilities, infrastructure and any industry dependent on them. Pre-emptive action, however, risks upsetting Washington's alliances in East Asia, potentially strengthening China. "The U.S. would be relegated to a regional power like Russia at the end of the Cold War," says Daniel Pinkston, an East Asia expert at Troy University in South Korea.

With the stakes so high, TIME spoke with defectors from North Korea, negotiators and others from both sides of the DMZ and the bargaining table to better understand Kim's motivations, Trump's aims and the potential consequences of their summit—if it actually happens.

OVER PLATTERS of iced whitefish, kimchi and spiced mackerel at a restaurant in Seoul's tony Gangnam neighborhood, the highest-ranking North Korean official to defect during Kim's reign offers guarded insight into his former leader's mind-set. Clive, who is using an alias to protect his safety, says he defected because a transgression by a close relative meant he was also facing a one-way ticket to the gulag.

Clive believes Kim may genuinely want to mend relations with Washington in order to improve the livelihoods of his 25 million subjects, and he suggests that Kim might agree to denuclearize in exchange for a mutual defense treaty signed by Pyongyang's four influential neighbors—Russia, China, South Korea and Japan—that's ratified by the U.N. and also passed by an act of Congress and signed by Trump. He says that under such a deal, Kim might not even object to the U.S.'s keeping in place the 28,500 troops currently stationed in South Korea.

Such a pact would require reaching across a dense thicket of historical grudges and mistrust, but Kim, at least, has a monetary incentive to try. A thaw with Tokyo in particular could lead to a much needed windfall. Pyongyang has never received compensation for Japan's human-rights abuses during its occupation of the peninsula from 1910 to 1945. In 1965, South Korea received $800 million in grants and soft loans from Tokyo under a similar deal, and a 2001 congressional research report suggested the North could expect $5 billion to $10 billion.

A multicountry deal of the sort Clive envisions would face steep challenges. Russia, China, South Korea and Japan would have to set aside large and competing interests for it to win U.N. backing. That, in turn, has the potential to complicate its chances in Congress, where conservatives resent following the U.N.'s lead. And Trump is generally averse to complex multilateral deals.

Kim's furtive trip to Beijing further muddies the waters. The visit, which included a great deal of pomp despite being kept under wraps until its end, suggests that Kim may need China's aid in negotiations with Trump—and that Xi could use that as leverage for trade concessions on recent tariffs with the U.S. in any deal.

The U.S. and South Korea, meanwhile, announced an amended trade pact on March 27 that expands the market for American automakers in South Korea while limiting the country's steel exports to the U.S. The revised deal was reportedly reached in order to avoid open disagreement between the allies during the summits.

Other obstacles to a nuclear deal are more prosaic. According to Jim Smith, a security expert at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who has discussed nuclear issues with North Korean officials on behalf of the U.S., negotiators are typically direct, but problems arise if an approach seems to counter a regime directive. "They may say, 'We can't talk about denuclearization,'" says Smith, "and so you have to change the language and say, 'Let's talk about nuclear security' or 'nuclear energy' and find another way in."

Personal chemistry between Kim and Trump is another wild card. Trump has been far more indulgent of authoritarian leaders than his predecessors, offering congratulations to Russian leader

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Vladimir Putin on his election victory and praise for Xi's dismissal of China's presidential term limits. To Trump's defenders, the absence of condemnation reflects a dealmaker's acumen. "I see some common traits between Trump and Kim Jong Un," says political scientist Cheong Seong-chang of South Korea's Sejong Institute. "They talk tough, but they're pragmatists."

Of course, that doesn't mean the two men will be able to broker an accord that settles more than 50 years of strife. Among the many challenges to reaching and upholding any deal is the threadbare State Department under Trump. South Korea still does not have a U.S. ambassador. Joseph Yun, the top U.S. diplomat dedicated to North Korea policy, retired in February. Summits normally follow a series of lower-level meetings, where policy specialists thrash out parameters in painstaking, coffee-soaked sessions. Trump and Kim are hanging everything on a front-loaded meeting. "If you have some big blowup, where do you go?" asks a former top U.S. diplomat, who asked to remain anonymous so he could speak candidly. "Diplomacy is effectively eliminated."

Were an agreement somehow reached, it would lead to another thorny question: how to verify it. There is no way to locate all of North Korea's nuclear weapons, and experts think the regime is likely to keep some hidden. "The best hope is 80% to 90% denuclearization," says Cheong.

The U.S. apparently has no intelligence sources in North Korea nor any way to illicitly access computer records in the Hermit Kingdom. Kim's regime is believed to have a network of underground military facilities the knowledge of which is dispersed among different military leaders.

Should negotiations falter and Kim and Trump return home empty, Clive's prediction is bleak: "North Korea will put more pressure on the U.S. through nuclear proliferation." In other words, Clive predicts North Korea will sell more of its nuclear and ICBM technology to rogue states or terrorist and criminal groups to boost its sagging economy and gain further bargaining power.

Weapons trading has always been a key way for North Korea to acquire foreign currency. From 1987 to 2009, 40% of the 1,180 units of ballistic missiles that were traded around the world were exported by North Korea, says Kwon Yong-soo, a former professor at Korea National Defense University. Defector debriefing documents reviewed by TIME detail how dozens of North Korean Scud missiles were sold to Iran for $90 million per unit in the 1980s, and Pyongyang's military scientists were paid up to $15,000 per month for maintenance work in Syria, Iran and Czechoslovakia. When Israel bombed a suspected Syrian nuclear reactor in 2007, one former North Korean missile scientist told TIME that he recognized a colleague dead in the debris.

Yoon Seok-sahn, who was separated from his family in the North, poses near his home in Tongilchon

"Now is the time to halt the testing to stop the North Koreans building 50 nuclear-armed ICBMs," says Daryl G. Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association. "Because then the problem becomes much more difficult."

YOON SEOK-SAHN'S vegetable patch doesn't appear to be of much geopolitical significance. Yet the small plot where the sprightly 86-year-old grows corn, beans and cabbages in South Korea's Tongilchon village lies snug against the DMZ and is just a few miles from the likely location of Kim and Trump's summit.

The division of the Koreas remains a personal tragedy for Yoon too. Just five miles across the DMZ looms North Korea's Deokmul Mountain, where Yoon's maternal uncle lived. "My mother used to take my hand, and we would walk over to his house for dinner," says the retired army major. "I don't know if I have any nephews or nieces living there today. I'd be desperate to meet them."

If Kim dangles the prospect of Korean reunification, as some experts predict, there is a chance Yoon will find out. "I think Kim Jong Un will offer the reunification of the Koreas," says Choi, a former North Korean intelligence officer who asked to be identified by his last name. That wouldn't mean the end of North Korea as a state, but a symbolic fusing in name, with the countries ramping up cooperation. An agreement could look similar to China and Hong Kong's "one country, two systems."

Cooperation across the DMZ may be Kim's primary goal, says Choi. Smoothing relations with South Korea will make it harder for Washington to unleash sanctions or a military strike against the North. But that would be highly divisive for South Koreans, who distrust Pyongyang while also being wary of U.S. escalation given their vulnerability. "Kim Jong Un wants to drive a wedge in the South Korea–U.S. alliance," says Choi, "to use South Korea as a human shield."

For Yoon and his 500-odd fellow Tongilchon residents, the front line is a familiar position. Every month, the village school's 80 students practice racing down to the nearby nuclear shelter, where cupboards of foil-wrapped gas masks are stacked. But the current thaw has already brought some benefit. Less North Korean propaganda has been bellowing across the DMZ, interrupting everyone's sleep. "I feel good about the talks," says Yoon. "They will help ease tensions and prevent war," he says, before adding, "at least for a while."

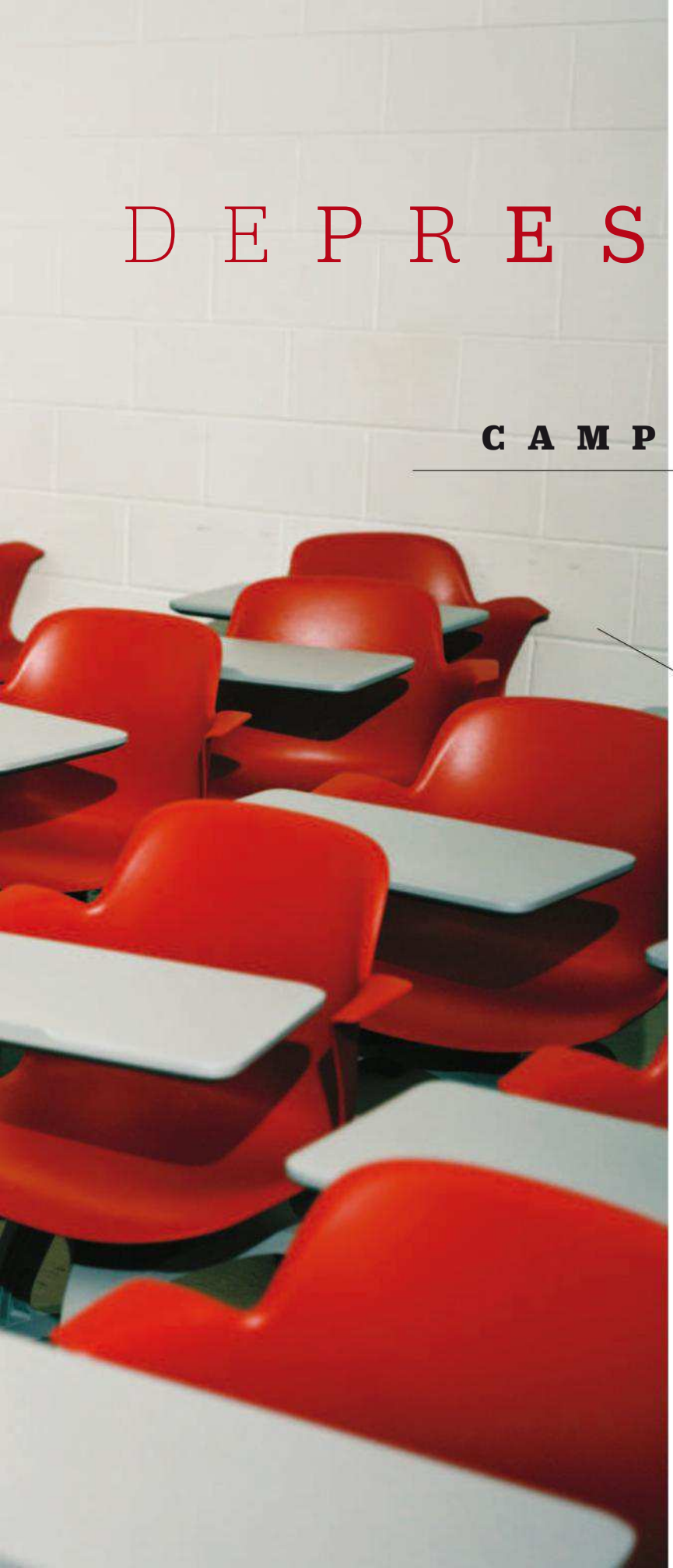
—With reporting by STEPHEN KIM/SEOUL *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON ◻

MOISES SAMAN—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME

Mental Health

Dana Hashmonay took a medical leave during her sophomore year of college after struggling with anxiety at school

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVA O'LEARY FOR TIME



DEPRESSION ON CAMPUS

Record numbers of college students are seeking treatment for depression and anxiety. Schools can't keep up

BY KATIE REILLY

NOT LONG AFTER NELLY SPIGNER arrived at the University of Richmond in 2014 as a Division I soccer player and aspiring surgeon, college began to feel like a pressure cooker. Overwhelmed by her busy soccer schedule and heavy course load, she found herself fixating on how each grade would bring her closer to medical school. "I was running myself so thin trying to be the best college student," she says. "It almost seems like they're setting you up to fail because of the sheer amount of work and amount of classes you have to take at the same time, and how you're also expected to do so much."

At first, Spigner hesitated to seek help at the university's counseling center, which was conspicuously located in the psychology building, separate from the health center. "No one wanted to be seen going up to that office," she says. But she began to experience intense mood swings. At times, she found herself crying

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uncontrollably, unable to leave her room, only to feel normal again in 30 minutes. She started skipping classes and meals, avoiding friends and professors, and holing up in her dorm. After being diagnosed with bipolar disorder by a psychiatrist on campus, her symptoms worsened and she withdrew from school in October of her sophomore year.

Spigner, 21, is among the rapidly growing number of college students seeking mental-health treatment on campuses facing an unprecedented demand for counseling services. From 2009 to '15, the number of students visiting counseling centers increased by about 30% on average, while university enrollment grew by less than 6%, the Center for Collegiate Mental Health found in a 2015 report. Students seeking help are increasingly likely to have attempted suicide or engaged in self-harm, the center found. In spring 2017, nearly 40% of college students said they had felt so depressed within the last 12 months that it was difficult for them to function, and 61% of students said they had "felt overwhelming anxiety" in the same time period, according to an American College Health Association survey of more than 63,000 students at 92 schools.

Starting with midterms in March, the spring-semester workload intensifies, the waitlist at counseling centers grows longer, and students who are still struggling to adjust to college consider not returning after the spring or summer breaks. To prevent students from burning out and dropping out, colleges across the country—where health centers might once have left meaningful care to outside providers—are experimenting with new measures.

> 'I think I needed something that the university just wasn't offering.'
>
> DANA HASHMONAY, 21

For the first time, UCLA last fall offered all incoming students a free online screening for depression. More than 2,700 students opted in, and counselors followed up with more than 250 who were identified as being at risk for severe depression, exhibiting manic behavior or having suicidal thoughts. Virginia Tech opened satellite counseling clinics to reach students where they already spend time, stationing one above a local Starbucks and embedding others in the athletic department and graduate student center. Ohio State University added a dozen mental-health clinicians during the 2016–17 academic year and launched a counseling mobile app that allows students to make an appointment, access breathing exercises, listen to a playlist designed to cheer them up and contact the clinic in case of an emergency. And student leaders at several schools have enacted new student fees that direct more funding to counseling services.

But most counseling centers are working with limited resources. According to a 2016 survey of counseling center directors, the average university has one professional counselor for every 1,737 students—fewer than the minimum of one therapist for every 1,000 to 1,500 students recommended by the International Association of Counseling Services. As colleges try to meet the growing demand, some students are slipping through the cracks because of long waits for appointments and a lasting stigma associated with mental-health issues. Even if students ask for and receive help, not all cases can be treated on campus. Many private-sector treatment programs are stepping in to fill that gap, at least for families who can afford steep fees that may rise above $10,000 and may not be covered by health insurance. But especially in rural areas, where options for off-campus care are limited, universities are feeling pressure to do more.

DANA HASHMONAY was one of many students whose mental-health issues started when she got to college. She was a freshman at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N.Y., in 2014 when she began having anxiety attacks before every class and crew practice, focusing on uncertainties about the future and comparing herself with seemingly well-adjusted classmates. "At that point, I didn't even know I had anxiety. I didn't have a name for it. It was just me freaking out about everything, big or small," she says. When she tried to make an appointment with the counseling center, she was put on a two-week waitlist. When she finally met with a therapist, she wasn't able to set up a consistent weekly appointment because the center was overbooked. "I felt like they were

Campus mental-health trends

Anxiety and depression are the most prevalent concerns among college students seeking mental-health treatment on campus today. The Center for Collegiate Mental Health also found a consistent increase in the prevalence of suicide attempts and other self-harming behavior among students seeking mental-health treatment each year since 2010.

30%

Percentage by which the number of students visiting counseling centers increased on average from 2009 to 2015, according to a report by the Center for Collegiate Mental Health

39%

Percentage of college students who said they had felt so depressed within the last 12 months that it was difficult for them to function, according to the American College Health Association's spring 2017 survey

61%

Percentage of college students who said they had "felt overwhelming anxiety" within the last 12 months, according to the American College Health Association's spring 2017 survey

10%

Percentage of college students who said they "seriously considered suicide" within the last 12 months, according to the American College Health Association's spring 2017 survey

more concerned with, 'Let's get you better and out of here,'" she says, "instead of listening to me. It wasn't what I was looking for at all."

Instead, she started meeting weekly with an off-campus therapist, who her parents helped find and pay for. She later took a medical leave midway through her sophomore year to get additional help. Hashmonay, now 21, thinks the university could have done more, but she notes that the school seemed to be facing a lack of resources as more students sought help. "I think I needed something that the university just wasn't offering," she says.

A spokesperson for Rensselaer says the university's counseling center launched a triage model last year in an effort to reduce long wait times, assigning a clinician to provide same-day care to students presenting signs of distress and coordinate follow-up treatment.

For other students, mental-health struggles predated college but are exacerbated by the pressures of campus life. Anne Marie Albano, director of the Columbia University Clinic for Anxiety and Related Disorders (CUCARD), says some of her patients assume their problems were specific to high school. Optimistic that they can leave their issues behind, they stop seeing a therapist or taking antidepressants. "They think that this high school was too big or too competitive and college is going to be different," Albano says. But that's often not the case. "If anxiety was there," she says, "nothing changes with a high school diploma."

In fact, students face the reality that a college degree is both more necessary and more expensive today than ever before. "A lot of schools charge $68,000 a year," says Dori Hutchinson, director of services at Boston University's Center for Psychiatric Rehabilitation, referring to the cost of tuition, room and board at some private colleges. "We should be able to figure out how to attend to their whole personhood for that kind of money."

A 2016 report by the Center for Collegiate Mental Health found that, on average, universities have increased rapid-access services—including walk-in appointments and crisis treatment for students demonstrating signs of distress—since 2010 in response to rising demand from students. But routine treatment services, including recurring appointments and specialized counseling, have decreased on average in that time.

"Students will be able to get that first appointment when they're in high distress, but they may not be able to get ongoing treatment after the fact," says Ben Locke, head of the Center for Collegiate Mental Health. "And that is a problem."

Some colleges are experimenting with new ways of monitoring and treating students. At the University of Iowa, counseling director Barry Schreier increased his staff by nearly 50% during the 2017–18 academic year. But there is typically a weeklong wait for appointments, which can reach two weeks by midsemester. "We just added seven full-time staff, and we're busier than we've ever been. We're seeing more students," Schreier says. "But is there less wait for service? No."

> 'We just added seven full-time staff, and we're busier than we've ever been.'
>
> **BARRY SCHREIER,** University of Iowa counseling director

The university has embedded two counselors in dorms since 2016 and is considering adding more. Schreier also added six questions about mental health to a freshman survey that the university sends out several weeks into the fall semester. The counseling center follows up with students who might need help based on their responses to questions about whether they've previously struggled with mental-health symptoms that negatively impacted their academics and whether they've ever had symptoms of depression or anxiety. He says early intervention is a priority because mental health is the No. 1 reason why students take formal leave from the university.

As colleges scramble to meet this need, off-campus clinics are developing innovative, if expensive, treatment programs that offer a personalized support system and teach students to prioritize mental well-being in high-pressure academic settings. Dozens of programs now specialize in preparing high school students for college and college students for adulthood, pairing mental-health treatment with life-skills classes—offering a hint at the treatments that could be used on campus in the future. When Spigner took a medical leave from the University of Richmond, she enrolled in College Re-Entry, a 14-week program in New York that costs $10,000 and aims to provide a bridge back to college for students who have withdrawn because of mental-health issues. She learned note-taking and time-management skills in between classes on healthy cooking and fitness, as well as sessions of yoga and meditation.

Another treatment model can be found at CUCARD in Manhattan, where patients in their teens and early 20s slip on a virtual-reality headset and come face-to-face with a variety of anxiety-inducing simulations—from a professor unwilling to budge on a deadline to a roommate who has littered their dorm room with stacks of empty pizza boxes and piles of dirty clothes. The center charges $150 per group-therapy session for students who enroll in the four-to-six-week college-readiness program but hopes to make the virtual-reality simulations available in campus counseling centers or on students' cell phones in the future.

Hashmonay, who has used the virtual-reality software at CUCARD in her weekly therapy, says the scenarios can be challenging, "but the minute it's over, it's like, 'Wow, O.K., I can handle this.'"

Back at the University of Richmond for her senior year, Spigner says the attitude toward mental health on campus seems to have changed dramatically. When she was a freshman, she knew no one else in therapy, but most of her friends now visit the counseling center, which has boosted outreach efforts, started offering group therapy and mindfulness sessions, and moved into a more private space. "It's not weird to hear someone say, 'I'm going to a counseling appointment' anymore," she says.

Spigner, who meets weekly with a therapist on campus, has also become a resource to friends. "I'm kind of the go-to now for it, to be honest," she says. "They'll ask me, 'Do you think I should go see counseling?'" Her answer is always yes. ◻

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TimeOff

LA VIE VIRTUAL
Steven Spielberg on *Ready Player One*, storytelling craft and the limits of nostalgia

INSIDE

COUNTRY DARLING KACEY MUSGRAVES RETURNS WITH A DARING NEW SOUND

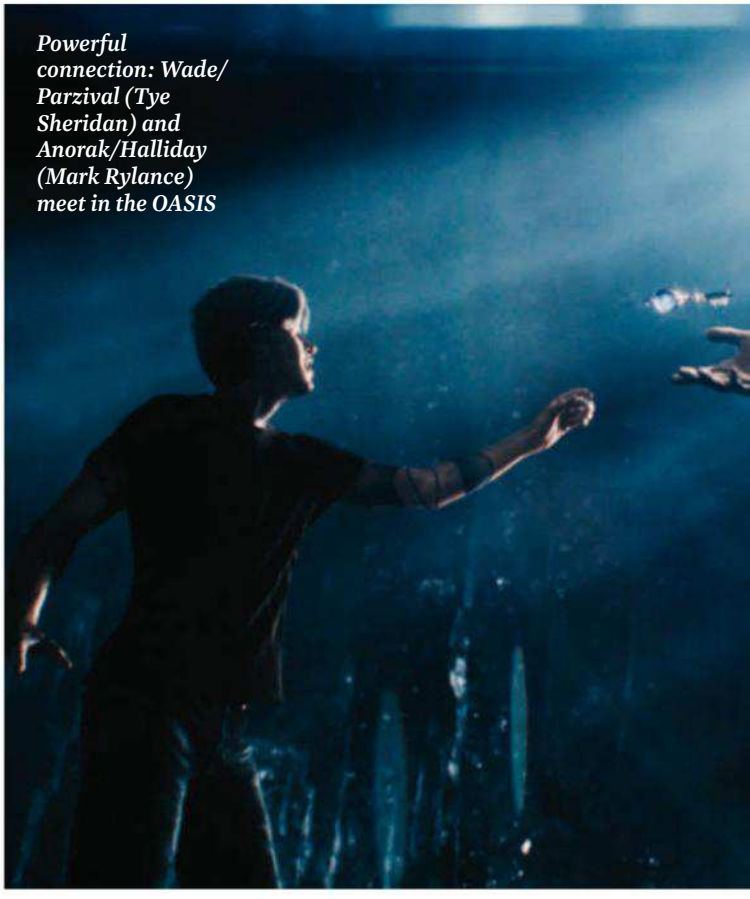
AN EXPLOSIVE NETFLIX DOCUMENTARY MINES THE DARK HISTORY OF AN OREGON CULT

TWO NEW NOVELS TACKLE THE TIMELY SUBJECT OF SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

MOVIES

A new reality reveals something classic

By Stephanie Zacharek



Powerful connection: Wade/Parzival (Tye Sheridan) and Anorak/Halliday (Mark Rylance) meet in the OASIS

SOON TO BE TRENDING, AGAIN: THE TEMPTATIONS' 1971 hit "Just My Imagination (Running Away With Me)," one of the most wistful love songs of its era. It's a reverie about falling in love at first sight and fast-forwarding through the amazing life the two of you could have together—if only it could be real. The singers run through an intoxicating set of romantic possibilities, eventually settling on a sobering verdict: "It was just my imagination, running away with me."

The human longing the Temptations sang about predates 1971—not to mention 2018—by thousands of years. But the song finds new life in Steven Spielberg's ambitious, sweet-spirited *Ready Player One*. It's a futuristic adventure-romance about Wade Watts (Tye Sheridan), a teenager stuck in depressed and depressing 2045 Columbus, Ohio, who lives the life of his dreams in a virtual-reality playground known as the OASIS. There, he's not a perpetually put-upon kid, one who was orphaned at a young age and packed off to live with relatives; in the OASIS, he becomes the alter ego he's created for himself, a heroic, blue-eyed model of James Dean coolness named Parzival, so electric with virtual life that even his skin seems to be traced with a network of living jewels. The movie's action shifts between the stylized bleak reality of Wade's world and the glistening, polychrome fantasy universe—created with CGI—in which, just by donning a pair of goggles, Wade becomes a swain who's brave and groovy in all the ways he feels, in real life, he is not.

'Social media is keeping people pretty much focused on the present. Social media may be the beta blocker to nostalgia.'

STEVEN SPIELBERG

Wade/Parzival has friends in this otherworld, people whom he doesn't know in real life, like the wisecracking warrior Aech (Lena Waithe). And he falls in love there too, with a girl so cool she's even out of Parzival's league, let alone Wade's: Art3mis (Olivia Cooke) is a quick-witted minx with a punky red shag haircut. When Parzival finally gets up the nerve to have a real conversation with her, it's the Temptations you hear deep in the background, their zephyr-like harmonies serving as both benediction and warning: breathe too hard, and even this imaginary reality might shatter.

The song may be old, but Spielberg's use of it is modern. In his hands, *Ready Player One,* based on Ernest Cline's popular 2011 gamer-fantasy novel, is a riff on both the glories and the limits of nostalgia—and it comes bound with the bittersweet acknowledgment that one man's cherished cultural nostalgia is likely to be a much younger man's casual Google search. Spielberg is one of Hollywood's consummate craftsmen and the ultimate genre polymath. In the course of a career spanning close to 50 years, he made a fake shark seem terrifyingly real, rendered a hall-of-Presidents figure as a flesh-and-blood being and pondered the possibility of friendly visitors from other galaxies. And even if some of his most well-loved movies—like the Indiana Jones pictures—riff on the pop culture of eras past, he's not so much a peddler of nostalgia as the kind of guy who makes movies that, in the years ahead, inspire nostalgia themselves. A generation of kids has already grown up with the tender and inventive child's fantasy *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial,* which Spielberg made in 1982. Now, even most millennials are probably too young to feel sentimental yearning for it.

SO IF THERE'S ANYONE qualified to riff on nostalgia, it's Spielberg. "Nostalgia does not have eternal life," the director tells me. "I use nostalgia when I'm in a bad situation, when I'm feeling stressed, or when the world is an ugly place to read about or to watch on television. I use nostalgia to escape. But my own kids are not nostalgic in the same way. They're nostalgic if something is trending. And then they'll go back and look it up and learn about something that happened a long time ago." He's realistic,

PREVIOUS PAGES: RYAN PFLUGER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: WARNER BROS.

in a cheerful way, about the fate of older folks' treasured cultural totems: "Social media is keeping people pretty much focused on the present," he says. "Social media may be the beta blocker to nostalgia."

Like its source material, *Ready Player One*—adapted by Cline and Zak Penn—is packed with cultural references from the 20th century, and from the 1980s in particular. King Kong, the climactic dance sequence of *Saturday Night Fever,* Van Halen's "Jump," the Iron Giant: if you've watched a movie or even just sifted through Spotify anytime in the past 90 years, you're sure to recognize *something.* But you don't have to get all, or even any, of the references to enjoy the movie. Spielberg purposely constructed *Ready Player One* so that "the story is straight ahead out your front windshield, and the nostalgia, if you care to glance at it, is out the right and the left windows of this vehicle we've put you in, the one that's racing you to the finish line," he says. "The nostalgia is there if it has some value for you, but nostalgia is not essential in understanding the story we're telling."

In recent years the word *storytelling* has become the kind of stock term you need to put air quotes around, part of the lingo of podcasters, performance artists and tattooed-and-bearded marketing guys alike. But for Spielberg, the idea of telling a great story means something much more primal, and it's bound tight with conveying visual information in the clearest possible way. *Ready Player One* is a vision of a possible dystopian future, but one that comes with its own means of escape via technology. The OASIS began as a noble experiment—its inventor is a reclusive, soft-spoken sweetheart-slash-genius, James Halliday (played, with incandescent guilelessness, by Mark Rylance)—but it has since become corrupted by corporate greed, embodied by the movie's biggest villain, Nolan Sorrento (Ben Mendelsohn). He's a symbol of the way Big Business can contaminate ideas that begin with the best intentions.

THE PLOT of *Ready Player One* involves dozens of crisscrossing threads, not to mention two visually disparate worlds. But Spielberg keeps everything moving smoothly, particularly the action scenes—they're rendered with the kind of clear visual organization and precision that so many younger filmmakers, raised on the sloppier language of fast, jumbled cutting, haven't bothered to master. In one of the grandest sequences, a drag race that's like a dream reimagining of the one in *Rebel Without a Cause* (set in a splendid dream version of New York), Spielberg never leaves any doubt as to which car is coming from where. He takes great care in drawing a clear line telling the audience, visually, where the race starts and where it ends. "In all of my movies where there are action set pieces, the last thing I want the audience to do is get lost," Spielberg says. "For me it's essential that the audience is clear about who's chasing and who's being chased. Up from down, left from right. When the audience doesn't have to worry about geography, it releases them to get involved in what the action is supposed to be telling us." And that, for Spielberg, is key, a position he defends with a kind of gentle ruthlessness. "Storytelling is the most important aspect of anything I've ever done. It's how the story is told—that's all I've really focused on. If something doesn't tell a story or if it's confusing, I either don't shoot it or I cut it out."

Spielberg loves technology, and he loves using new techniques to tell stories. But he's also wedded to the basics of classic filmmaking. He'll use CGI wherever it's needed—and it was needed a lot in a movie like *Ready Player One*—but generally speaking, if he has a choice between using a real set and a painted one that means "all the actors have to do is stand in front of a blue screen," his preference is clear. "I love using real sets," he says. "Half this movie is using real sets."

In the end, as dazzling as the OASIS is, Spielberg knows which world he prefers. "There's really no substitute for being in the world we were born into," he says. But who *doesn't* yearn for occasional escape from our grim daily battles, or even just from the headlines? The OASIS, as envisaged first by Cline and now by Spielberg—a place where the color of a person's skin, or some strict definition of gender, age or wealth, isn't the first thing you notice about them—is a model of the utopian imagination. Nostalgia has its uses. But why wish for a lost era, when you could instead be wishing a new one into being? ◻

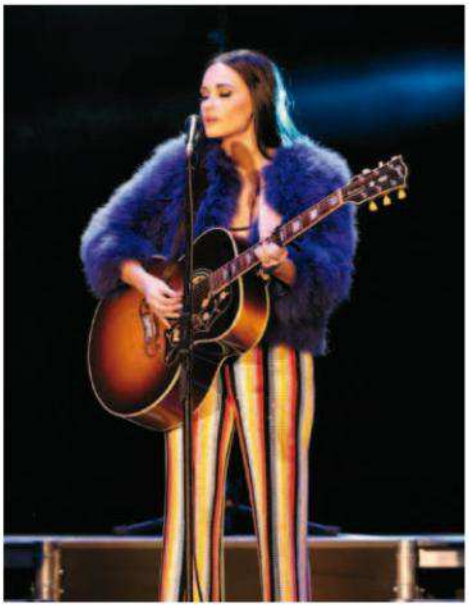
MUSIC

A country singer transcends boundaries

LOOK AT KACEY MUSGRAVES' RÉSUMÉ and you'd think the 29-year-old country singer would be more famous than she is: her debut album, 2013's *Same Trailer Different Park,* won her two Grammys as well as New Artist of the Year at the CMAs; she went on to court pop listeners by opening for Katy Perry on a global tour. Yet unlike contemporary country A-listers such as Miranda Lambert and Luke Bryan, Musgraves isn't a household name. Maybe that's because she's an edgier artist than many of her peers, and a more progressive one too: in her lyrics, she's championed LGBTQ rights and been plainspoken about her fondness for cannabis. That's risqué material for the conservative landscape of country music.

Musgraves' fourth studio album, *Golden Hour,* out March 30, isn't likely to align her with the biggest stars of country. Instead of going for the mainstream jugular, she imbues her country sound with a breezy, '70s-referencing pop flavor, citing Neil Young, the Bee Gees and Sade as influences. (In the spirit of the times, she also admitted on Twitter that she wrote one song while tripping on LSD.) Fans of Fleetwood Mac will hear that here too, with the occasional banjo serving as a reminder that Musgraves is still a country artist, after all.

Part of Musgraves' appeal has always been her down-to-earth storytelling and clever wordplay; on *Golden Hour,* her songwriting shifts into more personal and direct fashion, to impressive effect. The album's acoustic-guitar-driven opener "Slow Burn" sets the tone perfectly, with Musgraves looking outside the confines of the county line while also sticking close



Kacey Musgraves: more than a girl with a guitar

to home: "Grandma cried when I pierced my nose," she laments. On "Butterflies," she sings about finding unexpected love, while "Mother" is a moving meditation on nostalgia that's just her and a piano.

Best of all is "Space Cowboy," a gorgeous ballad that requires listeners to insert a comma: "You can have your space, cowboy/ I ain't gonna fence you in/ Go on ride away, in your Silverado/ Guess I'll see you around again." Her voice is shot through with pain and sorrow, but there's liberation here too, as stirring as she's ever been.

This summer, Musgraves will play arenas once more, as she hits the road with ex–One Direction hitmaker Harry Styles on his solo tour. It's another surprising alignment for her, but a testament to her versatility: Musgraves' superpower is the ability to reach audiences across boundaries. She may not be country's biggest star, but she's still one of its worthiest. —MIKE AYERS

POP CHART
***TIME'S* WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Wendy's dropped a **fast-food-themed mixtape called "We Beefin?"** that draws from its viral Twitter feuds with competitors.

Margot Robbie is producing a new Shakespeare-inspired TV series that will **retell the Bard's tales from a female perspective.**

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

A Los Angeles–based food entrepreneur launched a Kickstarter to **crowdsource funds for sliced ketchup,** a no-mess alternative to the popular condiment.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: GETTY IMAGES; VALERIE MACON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; TAYLOR JEWELL—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; HBO; NETFLIX

What I'm streaming now

By Daniel D'Addario

Wild Wild Country

Netflix found success with true-crime sensations *Making a Murderer* and *The Keepers*—and like those shows, the streamer's new hit *Wild Wild Country* methodically builds its power until it becomes something truly shocking. It tells the story of the Rajneeshpuram commune

QUICK TALK

Chloë Sevigny

The actor, 43, stars in Lean on Pete, *a sensitive drama opening April 6 about an Oregon teen who bonds with a vulnerable racehorse. Sevigny plays a veteran jockey who competes in low-stakes races.*

So I saw the movie—Did you cry?

Oh yeah. I love crying in movies. Me too. So cathartic. I've seen it three times and sobbed every time. I tell everybody, "If you love a good cry, go see this. Don't wear eye makeup, and bring tissues."

What was your relationship with horses before this? I was really frightened of horses. I got to spend a lot of time learning to ride and take care of them. A lot of them were old racehorses and they had past traumas that would come up when they'd see the track again. I have so much reverence for them.

You star opposite Steve Buscemi, who directed you in the '90s. My second film, *Trees Lounge*. I always say that's when I became a real actress. We're both New York actors—it's hard to imagine us as these Pacific Northwest, salt-of-the-earth types.

"IT FEELS LIKE THERE ARE MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T HAVE A CHANCE TO TELL THEIR STORIES BEFORE"

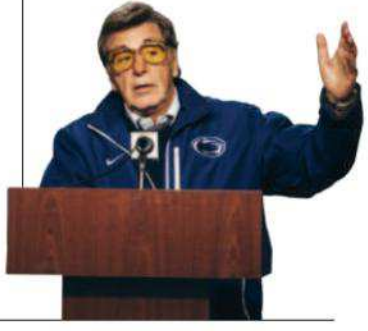
Having worked in independent film for 20-plus years, how do you feel about the state of indies today? I'm excited about all the talk of inclusion riders and Time's Up—it feels like there are more opportunities for people who didn't have a chance to tell their stories before. I worked in TV for a long time, and there were very few female directors. Now I've been doing shows with all female directors. It feels like that's changing.

—ELIZA BERMAN

TELEVISION

Pacino goes darker on HBO

Al Pacino has made a sideline in recent years of playing controversial men on HBO; he won an Emmy for his 2010 Jack Kevorkian and was nominated for his 2013 Phil Spector. He goes deeper still with *Paterno,* a new HBO film (debuting April 7) in which he plays Penn State's football coach, a legendary figure both within the campus bubble and as far as ESPN could reach. The real Joe Paterno was disgraced after his assistant coach was reported to have molested young boys; Pacino, after the revelation hits, shows us the vanity and insecurity that goes into denying what's in front of one's face. It all builds to the first Penn State game after Paterno's firing, and Pacino does his best acting in years reacting to a game in which he can't play a role. As his guard falls, Pacino's "JoePa" goes from celebrity to flawed, grasping human. —*D.D.*



in rural Oregon, brought together by Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, an Indian spiritual leader who sought a base of influence; his followers grew their power both at the ballot box and through poisoning their nemeses. Yet even those who remember this story from the news at the time will find something to surprise them in *Wild Wild Country.*

The series suggests that Rajneesh's followers were both victims and aggressors: their new home was a place whose simultaneous rugged freedom and arm's-length approach to immigrants sent toxic mixed messages. Escalating offenses on both sides created a climate of hostility that still thrives in America. You can see it in today's news too. Yet the show never shies from depicting the wrongs done at Rajneeshpuram—nor from how a climate was created in which those crimes seemed justified to those who committed them.

HOW TO WATCH
Wild Wild Country is streaming on Netflix now

Inside a classroom at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School on March 7

REVIEW

Two novels take on school shootings

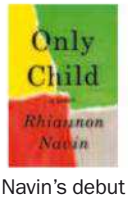
By Sarah Begley

MAYBE YOU DON'T WANT TO READ A NOVEL ABOUT a school shooting; many people wouldn't. But if you are open, or even eager, to see how fiction can process one of the more painful elements of contemporary American society, two new novels are at hand.

The first is Rhiannon Navin's *Only Child,* which, like Emma Donoghue's *Room,* is a book for adults as told from the perspective of a child living through something terrible. The main character is first-grader Zachary Taylor. On page 1, we find him hiding inside his classroom's closet with his teacher and peers while a shooter rampages—a tableau reminiscent of Sandy Hook. On page 28, we learn that Zach's older brother Andy is dead. His parents are so traumatized by their loss that they can hardly help their young son cope with his PTSD, which leads to bed-wetting, violent nightmares and uncharacteristic tantrums. Navin skillfully inhabits the consciousness of one too young to understand: the night after the shooting, looking at the family calendar, Zach thinks, "Yesterday we did all the things we do every Tuesday, because we didn't know that today a gunman was going to come."

The shooter is a troubled young man, but Navin complicates the situation by giving Andy a history of serious behavioral problems himself. After Andy dies, Zach expects family life to improve; maybe his family will stop fighting all the time. Andy's backstory elevates the book above a sob story—but redemption, recovery and hope remain the name of the game.

McAllister's second novel takes the point of view of a teacher



Navin's debut examines a Sandy Hook–like situation through the eyes of a child

For a grittier take, there's Tom McAllister's *How to Be Safe.* Advance copies arrived months ago, and I had just finished reading the book when the shooting happened at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla. The parallels are chilling: in the book, an angry young man returns to his old school, pulls a fire alarm to sow confusion and opens fire, killing 19.

The focus this time is on a teacher. Anna Crawford is actually at home the day of the shooting; she has been suspended for strange outbursts in the classroom. The shooter initially evades arrest, and Anna's suspension from work leads law enforcement to take her into custody as a suspect. Once proved innocent, she returns to her ransacked home to pass the days unemployed, depressed and usually drunk. But as unhinged as Anna is, she seems to be the only one who gets it. When the shooter's manifesto surfaces, she describes it as "depressing in its banality, in its adolescent conviction that he'd discovered some grand truth about how people are phonies … how the world is mostly about pain. As if we didn't all know this, as if we also weren't trying to find ways to deal with it that didn't involve murder."

How to Be Safe resists the hopeful messaging found in *Only Child;* Anna sees that something is rotten in these United States, and she refuses to gloss over it. When a journalist visits and asks what "lessons" the citizens have learned from the ordeal, Anna muses on the idiocy of the question: "Lessons. As if we'd just graduated and become American grownups because we'd finally bathed in the blood of our neighbors."

Anna is messy, intelligent, absurd, rude; you might even say distasteful. You could not call this a pleasant novel. But its brutal honesty befits the times. ◻

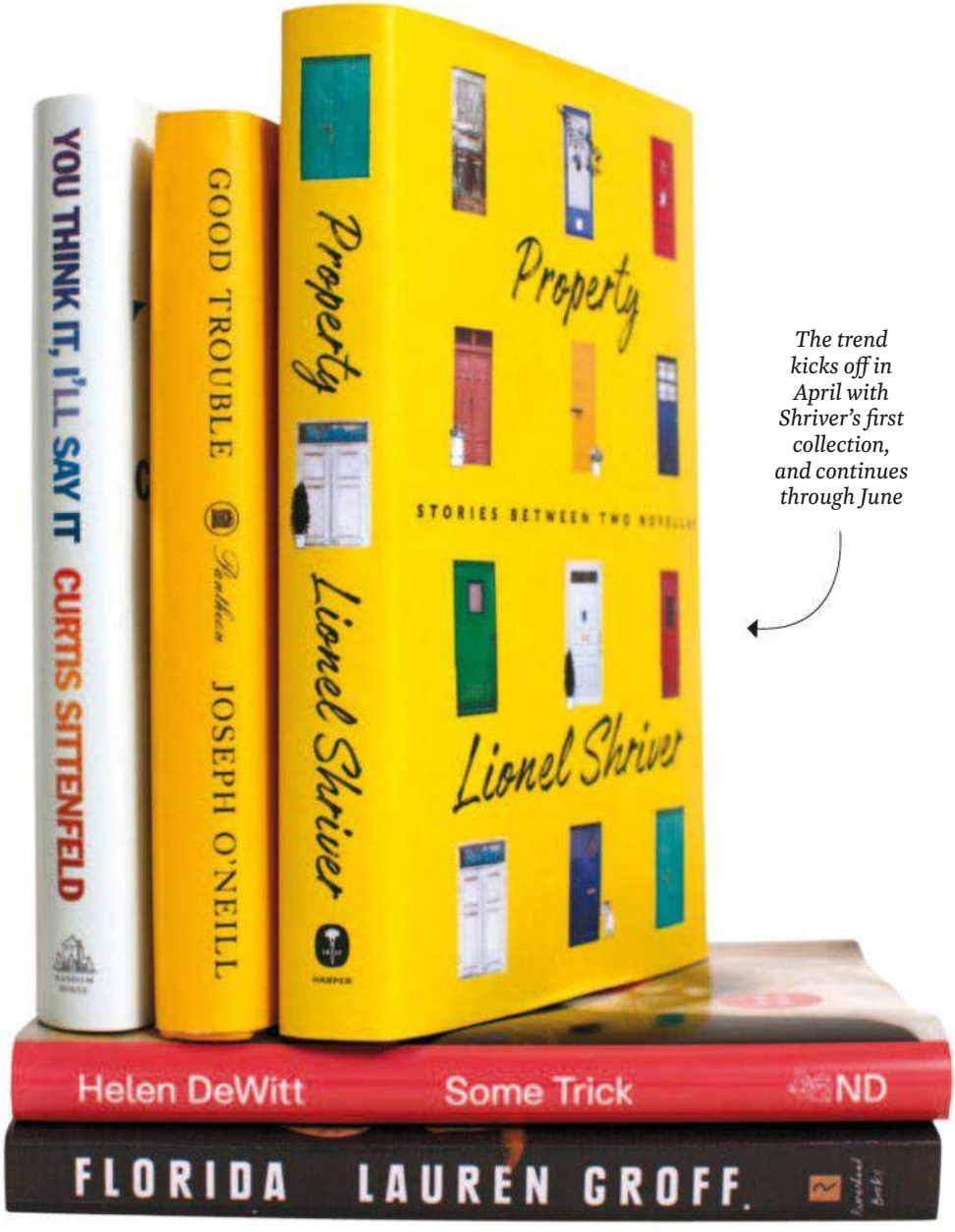
CLASSROOM: GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME; BOOK STACK: ERIN O'FLYNN FOR TIME

FICTION

Novelists go short

By Kate Samuelson

THE SHORT STORY'S "RENAISSANCE" IS A TROPE THAT HAS BEEN TROTTED OUT by booksellers and commentators throughout the 21st century, though in fact the genre's popularity has remained relatively steady. That said, this season brings a wave of writers who made their name as novelists putting out short-story collections, perhaps attracted to the literary form's innate opportunity for experimentation and specificity. Here are five writers mainly known for their novels who have this year slimmed down their long-form prose and embraced the short story.



The trend kicks off in April with Shriver's first collection, and continues through June

LIONEL SHRIVER, *PROPERTY*

The author known for *We Need to Talk About Kevin* (2003)—and for her controversial remarks about the racial politics of fiction—has written her first collection of short stories and novellas. The book probes the power dynamics that surround ownership, of both homes and possessions. Shriver brings the acerbic detail and mordant wit that define her novels to this rumination on the uniting forces of houses and humanity. *Out April 24*

CURTIS SITTENFELD, *YOU THINK IT, I'LL SAY IT*

This is the first collection of short fiction by the Cincinnati-born author of five novels, including *Prep* (2005), *American Wife* (2008) and *Eligible* (2016). In 10 stories, Sittenfeld explores gender, schadenfreude and Trump-era politics with sharp insight. Her characters are as relatable as the protagonists in her best sellers. *Out April 24*

HELEN DEWITT, *SOME TRICK*

The multilingual author, known for her novels *The Last Samurai* (2000) and *Lightning Rods* (2011), demonstrates her intellectual prowess in this thought-provoking debut collection. These 13 tales, which push the boundaries of fiction, center on misunderstood geniuses and manage to combine complex mathematical theories with razor-sharp wit—no easy achievement. *Out May 29*

LAUREN GROFF, *FLORIDA*

This dark short-story collection is the second from the New Yorker who is best known for her novel *Fates and Furies* (2015), the ambitious dissection of a marriage over 24 years. In *Florida,* Groff sets her sights on the titular Sunshine State, where she boldly explores conflicts and connections between everything from humans and their natural surroundings to pleasure and pain. *Out June 5*

JOSEPH O'NEILL, *GOOD TROUBLE*

The author of the PEN/Faulkner Award–winning novel *Netherland* (2008) returns his gaze to New York City in his first short-story collection. Through 11 tales, the Irish-Turkish author observes a range of hyperreal, painfully vulnerable characters, from a man who is desperate for someone to write his character reference to a husband who cowers upstairs as his wife confronts a potential intruder. *Out June 12*

DRINKS

Wine as history and emotion

By Ray Isle

WHAT'S IN A GLASS OF WINE? THAT'S SIMPLE: A BEVERAGE made from fermented grapes. It affords pleasure from its taste and (might as well be up-front about it) its moderate alcohol content. But what if the answer to that question was: history, science, economics, agriculture, esthetics, chemistry and biology, not to mention emotion, human perseverance, luck, even war?

Open a bottle of Château Musar's estate red. Forget worrying about whether it tastes of blackberries or raspberries, whether it has a note of this spice or that spice. Instead, taste that Musar red and think of it in another way. Take a sip and consider that it was made in the Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon, near the Syrian border, where wine has been made for some 5,000 years. Perhaps also note that when Gaston Hochar founded Musar in 1930, 13 years still remained before Lebanon was to gain independence from France—and 45 were to pass before the country would be ripped apart by 15 years of civil war. During the war, a million people fled Lebanon; Gaston's son Serge stayed and made wine, turning part of the winery's cellar into a bomb shelter, driving past roadblocks manned by execution squads, harvesting around shells that had fallen into his vineyards.

Did I mention tragedy too? In 2014, Serge Hochar died while swimming in the ocean off a beach in Mexico. Sudden, swift loss. The winery is run by his sons Marc and Gaston now.

Eight months after that accident I happened to be eating pizza with a friend who runs a wine store in Maine, and drinking Château Musar. I was surprised to see tears come to my friend's eyes. He seemed surprised too; the only explanation he offered was, "He was just such an extraordinary guy."

Wine can surprise you with emotion. Every time I drink a bottle of the Sicilian red called Rosso del Conte (not very often; it's expensive) I think of my and my wife's honeymoon, and an extraordinary afternoon we spent at the Tasca d'Almerita estate where it's made. There's a reason we say we "savor" memories. Recollection is wine's strongest flavor, sometimes.

There's a reason we say we 'savor' memories. Recollection is wine's strongest flavor, sometimes

OF COURSE, not every wine works in this way. If you open a bottle of Cupcake Red Velvet, a popular blend of zinfandel, petite sirah and merlot, you'll struggle to find historical depth, or an inspiring expression of against-all-odds determination, unless the latter was on the part of a consumer-marketing department. And yet. If you do open a bottle of Cupcake Red Velvet, you might find it interesting to know that one of the three largest wine producers in the U.S. created the beverage you're about to pour into your glass (the Wine Group, which makes more than 60 million cases of wine each year). Longtime wine-industry adage: Americans talk dry and drink sweet. Red Velvet is part of the skyrocketingly popular "red blend" category, largely populated by mass-produced wines with catchy and in theory millennial-friendly brand names. But don't hunt for depth. Cupcake Red Velvet is an artfully manufactured beverage product, just as Coke Zero or LaCroix coconut-flavored sparkling water is. That doesn't mean you shouldn't like it. Your tastes are your own. Personally, I like Coke Zero, and I think that coconut-flavored sparkling water tastes like soap. The point is more that some wines have layers—not just of flavor—that repay thinking about. □

WINE: GETTY IMAGES; MISS YOU LIKE HELL: JOAN MARCUS

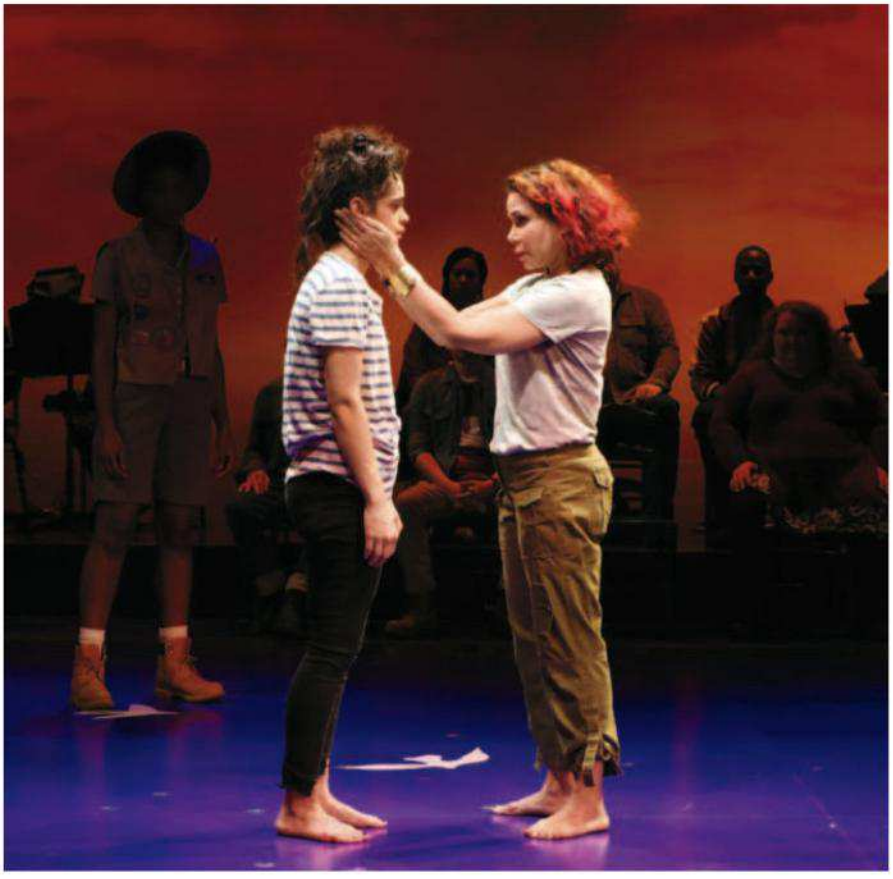
THEATER

Immigration takes center stage

By Eben Shapiro

AS A LITTLE GIRL, QUIARA ALEGRÍA Hudes would accompany her mother to a women's health clinic she ran in North Philly. There, she would watch her mother help women in the heavily Latinx community navigate the perils of the nation's immigration laws. The dramas the 5-year-old absorbed ranged from major crises—including the despair and disruption over a family member being deported—to the daily fears of interacting with a system when your status is not secure. One vivid memory: a woman in labor was terrified to go to the hospital because she was certain she would be taken away after giving birth. Only when Hudes' activist mother arranged for a lawyer to accompany her to the hospital did the woman relent. "This is something I've been processing my entire life," says Hudes. "Now the entire nation is processing it together."

Such experiences shaped *Miss You Like Hell,* a musical that Hudes, the first Latina to win the Pulitzer Prize for Drama (for *Water by the Spoonful*), created along with songwriter Erin McKeown. The show stars Daphne Rubin-Vega, who was central to the original production of *Rent,* and Gizel Jiménez. Its New York premiere is on April 10, at the Public Theater.



In Miss You Like Hell, *Jiménez and Rubin-Vega wrestle with the personal and the political*

MUSICALS HAVE a multiyear gestation process, and *Miss You Like Hell* has the artistic good karma to arrive on the New York stage at a moment when immigration issues are also front and center on the national political stage. It centers on an estranged mother and daughter reconnecting after years apart, but the looming backdrop is the mother's pending deportation hearing. The question of who gets to be a citizen is an issue as old as America; still, when Hudes and McKeown began collaborating on the show in 2011, Dreamers, ICE and "Build a wall!" weren't as much a part of the political discourse. An earlier version of the show opened at the La Jolla Playhouse in fall 2016.

The musical relates the odyssey of Beatriz driving with her estranged daughter Olivia from Philadelphia to L.A., with detours to a mall in Ohio, a fraught traffic stop in Wisconsin, the marriage of two aging gay bikers in Indiana and a glorious trip to Yellowstone. (One crowd-pleasing song is "Yellowstone," which McKeown describes as "an urban slow jam about a national park that owes a debt of gratitude to Prince and Michael Jackson.") The story ends at a park at the U.S.-Mexico border, with a giant wall dividing the stage.

Alongside the two stars, the cast features a chorus of eight, who collectively represent the diversity of America. Director Lear deBessonet has been with the show since 2013. One of deBessonet's great strengths is casting, and her productions always include spectacularly idiosyncratic performers, with a wide range of ages and body types. "I find regular people beautiful and want to put them onstage," she says. Ripped performers with long legs, she says, are "not the only people that can sing and dance."

Given the topicality of the production and the Public Theater's tradition of producing shows that spark conversation—including hits like *Hamilton* and *Fun Home*—the creative team is working hard to ensure that *Miss You Like Hell* gets a broad audience. That includes extending invitations to students from schools that have a high percentage of immigrant parents. Hudes, who has been mentoring a group of Washington State high school students who call themselves the Migrant Leaders Club, arranged a grant to fly them to New York to see the show. "And it would be great," says deBessonet, "if some Senators come too." □

Tracy K. Smith The poet laureate's new collection, *Wade in the Water,* deals with race, love and the Civil War

Why does poetry matter today? Poetry requires us to be humble and beholden to something other than our own opinion. That's important. There's too much in our 21st century lives that is telling us we're the most important thing, that our initial gut reaction is incredibly valuable and not vulnerable, and that our opinions as consumers are more important than just about anything else about us. A poem says, "No, no. You have feelings. You have fears. You have questions. Let's get back to the voice and the vocabulary of being human."

What do you feel is your duty as poet laureate? I think my duty is to say, This is something everyone has permission to do. A poem is not something you need an advanced degree to comprehend.

What's the most interesting thing you've gotten to do so far as poet laureate? I visited Cannon Air Force Base near Clovis, N.M. That was special because my father was in the Air Force. But it was also exciting to kind of see how this particular vocabulary landed in a place where people are living by a different set of terms. People were willing to dive in and say, "This poem reminds me of being an adolescent" or "This poem reminds me of something I experienced when I was overseas."

What has surprised you most in your travels? Sometimes I feel like when you are listening to a poem together with someone else, there's a sense of energy, or a spirit that the poem catches you up in. I was talking with a group of students at the Santa Fe Indian School about that, and they said, "We believe that happens with language that isn't only poetry. We believe that happens with prayer ceremony." And so I thought, Wow, this is another vocabulary for thinking about what I do—ceremony, a living tradition.

"EVEN PEOPLE WHO SAY, "OH, I DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT POETRY," THEY DO HAVE A POEM THAT THEY CARRY"

JAMES ESTRIN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Has there been a particular poet laureate whose tenure you wanted to use as a model? Rita Dove gave a lot of public readings in Washington, D.C., and brought a broad public in. I loved that idea. I also loved Robert Pinsky's Favorite Poem Project. Even people who say, "Oh, I don't know much about poetry," they *do* have a poem that they carry.

Is there a particular poem that you carry? I have a lot of them. I've written about an Emily Dickinson poem that spoke to me when I was a child: "I'm Nobody! Who are you?/ Are you—Nobody—too?" The first poem I memorized was George Herbert's "Love (III)." It's a poem about feeling unworthy, and Love saying, no, no, I will serve you.

Some of the poems in this book are about the Civil War. Why write about that now? I think that our questions about race, and the struggle that we seem to be engaged in to truly accept, and not just tolerate but value each other, is something that goes all the way back to that time.

Why write poems that respond to politics? I don't think that as a person, it's enough to have an opinion that you're proud of, the kind of thing that you would trot out at a dinner party with close friends. I know we all have those things, but I think we have to pressure ourselves to get beyond that. Art is a good way of doing that, because it's not satisfied with an easy, one-sided answer; it seeks out complications and contradictions.

What's next for you? I'm co-translating a contemporary Chinese poet called Yi Lei. And I'm working on a libretto for an opera with Greg Spears, about land held by descendants of people who were enslaved on that land, and what happens when that land becomes extremely valuable.

—SARAH BEGLEY

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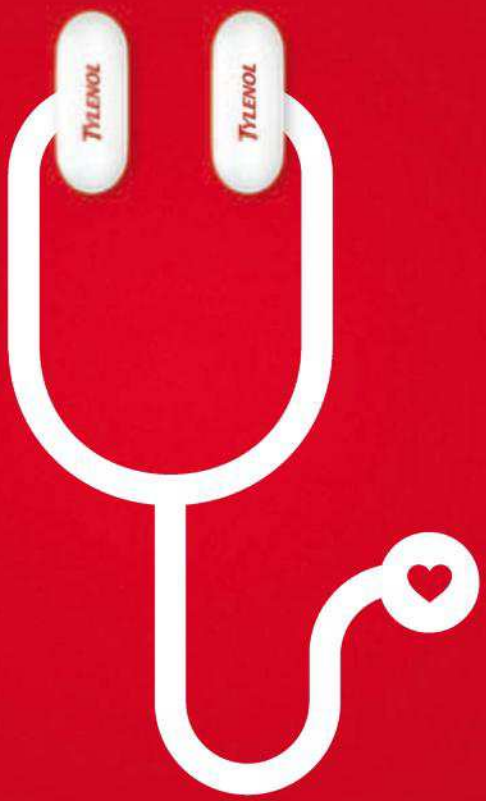
You may think all pain relievers are the same. Your doctor doesn't.



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